

# LUTHERAN WORLD

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POWER AND GRACE

PETER DURRENMATT

THE CRITIQUE OF GOVERNMENT

HEINZ-DIETRICH WENDLAND

THE MEANING OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CONFESSION  
OF THE HOLINESS OF THE CHURCH

GUNNAR HILLERDAL

PRINCIPAL SYSTEMATIC PROBLEMS  
OF PRESENT-DAY SCANDINAVIAN THEOLOGY

LEIV AALEN

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# LUTHERAN WORLD

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*Doctrine as such cannot endow the hearer with the Holy Spirit. It cannot awaken him to faith or even simply maintain and further him in it. It cannot convert him. Doctrine as such cannot induce the active presence of Jesus Christ. It cannot represent, much less build his Kingdom. It cannot bring about the event of fellowship between God and man in all its reality. Those who expect things of that sort from it expect too much while perhaps at the same time expecting too little from it.*

*That this reticence is in fact imposed upon the teaching of the Gospel, upon human preaching, becomes clear when one sees that the *recte administrare sacramenta* is not a redundant and superfluous accessory to the *pure doctrine evangelium*. The *sacraments* are the special evidence of the *reality* of that event. But they can only bear witness to it, it is true, and not bring it about as a "means of grace" in contrast to the Word which is preached, as would be the case according to Roman Catholic teaching. But this is what they do bear witness to—and can bear witness to more eloquently than the Word which is preached, because they are not essentially words but actions: the fact that what the Word which is preached says, is said not merely by one man to another, but that it is in Jesus Christ, and that it is said precisely in view of this its *being* in Jesus Christ, and said validly, with all the force participation in this being . . .*

*Perhaps one of the most decisive questions with which Protestantism will be confronted in the near future is whether it will succeed in leading evangelical worship towards that wholeness which both Luther and Calvin intended it to have, that is, in putting an end to the absurd separation of sermon and sacrament and restoring the natural intimate connection between them.*

Karl Barth  
Kirchliche Dogmatik I/2  
pp. 852—853.



PETER DÜRRENMATT

## Power and Grace

Reflections on the Church in a Divided World

In the following statement of the problem two entities confront each other: the *church* and the *divided world*. Our first question will have to be concerned with what these two entities are, why they confront each other, and what the relationship of the one is to the other. Let us begin with the divided world. We know what is meant. The nations are in opposite camps of West and East, and from opposing ideological standpoints are in controversy with each other in regard to the concepts of freedom and justice. By the term "divided world" we mean therefore a political condition in the broadest sense of the word. Here the question is not only one of ideas, but of something else besides, something which is always the concern of politics, *power*.

### The essence of power today

Actually, this is nothing new. The concern is the same as it always has been and always will be, so long as history continues. What is basically new in the present-day situation consists in the dimensions of the struggle. The struggle for power in our time is a struggle for total domination of the globe. Here it is not a matter of the usual rivalries over certain territories or changes of frontier. It concerns the whole.

This claim of totality is apparent everywhere: in the fact that the concept "the other end of the world" no longer exists, which means that every conflict anywhere in the world encompasses in some way all nations; in the fact of the increasing ideological intolerance which can be seen on both sides; in the strategic military planning of both blocks; and in the impressive inability to create true peace, the desperate flight to find a synthetic, *ersatz* peace, coexistence. In fact one might say in regard to the word "coexistence" that war as a political instrument has become useless, and the ancient correlation "war and peace" has been replaced in our day by the bitter alternative "coexistence or annihilation". In this "or" we can detect how closely related the absolute claim of power is to nihilism and the absurd.

The insight that the drive for political power of both sides aims at the whole means that we should attempt to investigate the reality of our divided world, in view of the concept of power which conceals itself behind the opposing positions, claims and ideologies. We contend that here also there



is a new, a peculiar understanding of power. We would define the novelty as consisting in the fact that the modern understanding of power has cut itself loose from grace; that the attainment of this condition is the conscious purpose of the Communist East, but that also the West, as a result of certain compulsions, is on the point of falling into the same condition.

Man has always practised politics with the aid of power. What is supposed to be new in this activity today? Let us begin with a common phenomenon: much is said today about the anxiety that is so prevalent. Educators, philosophers, clergymen, doctors, psychologists and psychiatrists are concerned with the significance of anxiety in modern man's existence. But this anxiety has already become a political problem as well: for example, the use of certain methods of political agitation—called a war of nerves—which evidently take into account mankind's susceptibility to anxiety; or the fact that again and again certain kinds of politically conditioned mass anxiety unsuspectingly come to the surface, called forth by mistrust of certain forms of political power.

Those nations which experience political events simultaneously and in abundance through the press, film, radio and television, are afraid, for example, that a day could come when playing with power by means of the hidden preparedness for war would suddenly cease to be a game. The uneasiness in America, Britain and France caused by the so-called Dulles interview of a few months ago was typical in this respect. One of the leading men in world politics confessed that the essence of great politics consists in going to the brink of war, but stopping short of war itself. At least this is the way *Life* magazine reported it. This confession of playing with the ultimate possibility seemed to confirm the fear of the nations in the face of a development in which power becomes autonomous, and the game of power becomes more than those responsible can handle.

Certainly men have always trembled in the face of power; but in the great periods of the Christian era of the West, they were able again and again to hope in grace in their anxiety. Today, however, man appears threatened in the political realm by the same development of power made possible by technology which dangles before him the promise of ultimate victory over the powers of nature. He is afraid not only of the possibility, mentioned above, that one day the atomic bombs and artillery could be let loose of themselves. He also considers it possible that a resolute minority could come into the possession of decisive power, that is, acquire the means of force and impose its will on the majority. The possibility of the misuse of power in the form of unlimited and unscrupulous use of force is equated with the essence of power, and is one of the latent anxieties of Western man. This possibility is so much the more significant in its effect, because the masses of these same men who cower before it have become to a terrifying extent incapable of and indifferent to faith, no longer open to the essence of grace, and in their want

of principle immediately call upon the state as the ultimate, secure principle of order, as soon as social or economic uncertainties arise.

### Christ and Pilate

It would be a venture just as stimulating as it is important to trace the relationship between power and grace in the course of two thousand years of Western Christian history. Within the framework given us, however, only certain intimations are possible. The example *par excellence* of the confrontation of power and grace enters history with the encounter between Christ and Pilate. It is an unprecedented event when the governor sent out by Rome—that impressive structure of molded and disciplined political power—is so shaken by the appearance of Christ that he would prefer to avoid making the decree expected of him by the Jews. Pilate, the governor appointed by the Rome of Western civilization, felt the touch of grace. At this point the Christian era begins, in which despite all appearances to the contrary the self-confidence of power is broken.

After this first historic encounter between a governor consciously invested with an absolute power that was totally secular, and the mediator of grace invested with the authority of God, there followed hundreds and thousands of similar encounters of varying degrees of significance. There followed the grandiose attempt of the medieval empire to justify the use of power in the name of grace. It failed, and ushered in an event that changed the course of history, the Reformation.

The religious discussion and the resultant religious division were caused in fundamental points by the difference over the understanding of the effect and essence of grace. This event was influenced decisively by the fact that the medieval church had interfered and identified itself too closely with political power. So the age of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation stands at the point of transition between medieval and modern times. On the one hand, it forcibly proclaimed the greatness of grace, and on the other hand it is the beginning of an epoch in which the concept of power consciously emancipated itself from grace. The difference between the demand of the church and the demand of the state upon the world becomes sharply apparent. But only for moments, it is true. Then the crevasse is filled in, the trench covered over. Both on this side and the other the churches begin zealously to support the character of their states as being "by the grace of God". At first underground, but soon openly, the process of emancipation of power from grace continues. The final victory is wrought—after the epoch-making break-through of the French Revolution—by two phenomena: the modern idea of progress and the control of modern life by technology.



But again we must be content to turn to the situation of the immediate present and not follow in detail the effect of the idea of progress on politics and the development in the last 250 years of a rigid principle of power, devoid of grace. A significant stage in the progressive secularization of the political concept of power and its emancipation from the effect of grace was achieved by the victory of faith in progress growing out of the Enlightenment of the 18th century, which placed God in the position of general watchwinder and confidently committed the destinies of the world to man in his newly discovered and proclaimed "goodness".

However, the consequence of this idea did not take full effect until modern technology began making inroads upon human life in the 19th century. What I mean can be made clear by an example from modern history. One of the first modern men of power was Napoleon I, but not to the ultimate degree. He arose out of the confusion of the Revolution; the French state and all of western continental Europe was totally subject to him, but he did not want to be a nihilistic "Führer" at all, but rather restored in a romantic fancy the idea and feudal hierarchy of the old Empire. Even the Pope had to assist at his coronation. Napoleon's plans for power were frustrated by the fact that technology was still so underdeveloped. England's island situation and Russia's unlimited expanse could not be conquered with the sources of energy available, the drawing power of men and animals and the power of wind. And therefore his will to power was broken not least because of the powers of nature.

With this example we have already indicated where, fifty years later, that which is new and revolutionary is to be sought: the steam engine dominates space, the telegraph makes possible simultaneous communications, and chemistry increases the destructive power of artillery. This development led within a hundred years to a total change in the means available to the power of the state. The idea of progress itself changed. It left behind the conception of the good in principle that progresses in gradual development from the primitive to the complicated, from the simple to that which is higher and from the bad to the good in mankind. Imperceptibly but unceasingly it progressed towards the concept that progressive is equivalent in meaning to powerful, and powerful is equivalent in meaning to the ability to exercise compulsive power.

One has only to study the history of the European colonial conquests in the 19th century and the reasons given for the demand for power with which these were justified to recognize how fateful was the alliance into which power and progress had entered, how self-evident, even scientific and philosophical was the justification of the acts of state violence in that century. As World War I broke out in 1914 not one single nation was afraid of unleashing the fetters of power. On the contrary, each greeted the war with demonstrations of enthusiasm.



It is now mistakenly supposed that both world wars and the economic crisis that lay between them have shattered this idea of progress based upon the emancipation of power from grace. This opinion is inexact, to say the least.

### Progress and optimism

The wars and the crisis have merely destroyed the source of the idea of progress, faith in the natural goodness of man. They have shattered, in other words, not faith in progress, but optimism. Of course, even that cannot be said generally. It is good in connection with this point to distinguish between the critically damaged optimism of the continental European and that of the Briton or American.

The situation, to describe it as briefly as may be, is approximately this: The affirmation of all-encompassing, violent power, devoid of grace, that arose in Western Europe in the 19th century has spread in the 20th century to all nations of the globe. Whereas the conception of man as being good and ever getting better is no longer held by Europeans, and to the other one-time colonial peoples of Asia and Africa it does not seem relevant because of the illusion of material progress, in the Communist world view it has taken a central place.

There are two things which we must clarify: How does the confrontation of power by grace appear in Eastern and in Western political thought? In addition, what are the effects of power devoid of grace upon our immediate present and future?

Communism, as a political doctrine, presents itself today as the most radical denial of grace. If we define politics as the art of seeking to provide for man justice in freedom, we find that, according to the Communist view, this goal is actually achieved in the absolute Communist state. The Communist state (which, in the Communist view, is that stage which reaches a higher point in progressive development than the individual) must control absolute power and the possibility of the total use of absolute power in order to make progress a reality.

That is why power is considered good in Communist doctrine when used by the Communist state, and bad when used by the "reactionary" state. In the first instance everything is allowed; in the second power is to be curbed. Within this totally secular world of thought, where nature exists not as creation but exclusively as the procreative source of development, there is no room for grace.

The rift between grace and power which is inherent in Communism appears less unequivocal in the political thought of the West. However, this modern political thought of the West is also molded by an understanding of progress that is secular and bound to the future. Only there is nothing in the West

of modern times that is approximately equal to the radical power of destruction and transformation of the Russian Revolution of the years 1917–1921.

On the other hand the latent crisis in the political thought of the West can be felt everywhere. It is, if one penetrates more deeply, a *crisis of political authority* and therefore a crisis of power. It has arisen out of the problem of uniting democracy and mass society. This truth is at present most clearly visible in France; perhaps, among other reasons, because no other Western country has driven forward to such an extent the total secularization of state power as has France. On the other hand, in the Anglo-Saxon world, Scandinavia or even Switzerland the latent crisis of the understanding of power is less apparent not least because up to the present it has been possible to maintain bonds of some sort between the concept of the state and notions of political power on a religious basis.

If in the West too we put the problem in terms of our definition of politics as being the exercise of justice in freedom, we find that the fundamental difference from Communism consists in the Western states' continuing to concede to freedom a function of its own. Although there too the state is the most comprehensive of the forms of community, it is never the only one. Its responsibility to provide justice is limited by the demand for the freedom of the individual citizen and his associations. The law circumscribes the content and the limits of state power. One can say that freedom in the West rests upon the *separation of state and society*. It is, in addition to other organizations, the church which in the West bases its freedom on the principle of the separation of state and society.

Nevertheless, even in the West we find a menace to mankind that is to be taken seriously—the functioning of absolute power, devoid of grace, which desires to act independently. We have already pointed out that the idea of the 19th century was to keep the state and politics ever in the service of progress, and with the aid of power it was to assert itself and to improve this world without justification by grace. This has now become one of the driving ideas of all Western nations. It is coupled with an understanding of technology as something independently active which has developed out of the stage of tools. This idea can be seen, for example, in current plans for almost complete industrial automation. This world of thought has taken a different form in each nation and tends, in relation to political things, to carry over to human society the mechanical and automatic principle. The state is supposed to be developed into an independently active machine of justice.

Look at the facts! The power of the modern state rests on the sovereignty of the people. It is legitimate insofar as it is approved by the people or their representatives.

Over against the theory of this doctrine, however, there arises today in every state the problem of mass numbers, the complication of relationships and the necessity of development. Again, I can only point out some of the



factors: One of the pressing questions hanging over these times, especially over the nations of the West, is for example the question as to what would happen if and when the arteries of the economy were to be hardened. Only thirty years ago this question existed only for those who were regarded as political outsiders. Today it has been answered insofar as in every nation both Left and Right are in agreement that in such a case something must be done, that is, that no one is willing to let a crisis again develop out of inner necessity, but rather that the state must immediately take certain measures as the guarantor of security against crises. This expectation based on the activity of the state as guarantor of the security of society is beginning more and more to characterize politics. It raises the administration to authoritative rank in all countries. The freedom to act under the influence of ideas becomes limited. Herein lies the explanation, among others, of the decrease in the contrast that once existed between socialist and non-socialist ideas.

Because of the complication of relationships, of so-called security and of rationalization, the West is obviously speeding toward the "functionary" state. The concept of justice which meets with success among the masses is the concept of justice of technology and the machine. The man of these times no longer expects the justice of kings, but that of the perforated card machine. Here there is no need of grace. What is needed is utility, statistics, conformation to norms and standards, in short, friction-free distribution. This is what we meant when we said that the state as the absolute and impersonal utilitarian organization seems to be the goal. Just as a distinction is drawn between the winning of bread and leisure—by which the first is a necessary evil and the other a condition free of ties and responsibilities, filled with delight—so also a distinction is to be drawn between the state as signal-box supervising human community life and the existence of the individual who is to be controlled and restrained by this state no more than is necessary.

Power in this system is viewed as a kind of fuel which is poured in, but which is thought not to be dangerous because it has been channelled for use in prepared pipes and tubes.

And it is just here, in this attempt to make power harmless by judging it to be a mere source of energy, that we see the tremendous danger. Certainly, what I have just mentioned is not yet reality. It is a possibility for the day after to morrow. A possibility, however, whose menace is felt and which gives rise to peculiar reactions. I call to mind the movement of M. Poujade in France, which is nothing other than such a reaction.

The situation is uncomfortable and gives the impression of being quite inevitable, because despite all efforts to confront the growing complication of relationships with other complications, no success is achieved either in mastering the situation or in destroying the fear of sudden explosions of the incalculable. The problem lies in man, the conscious progenitor of this grandiose game. What is driving him is not the Biblical task of taking creation



into his service. What is driving him is a general idea of happiness, that is, the ideal of a life free of material care. All of life is being placed more comprehensively and in all its forms of expression under the doctrine of purpose and of measurable utility. In medicine, psychology, economics and politics man is being made into a highly bred animal of utility. All the gigantic expenditure of science on behalf of the speciality of "modern man", of whom this or that can no longer be demanded, cannot hide the real helplessness of the situation in which the Western doctrine of man finds itself.

In this situation power as an end in itself spreads its talons. Man is afraid of it only in the form of violence, of war. He cringes before it and demonstrates against it. But he finds it quite in order when at an automobile race a hundred people are killed at one sweep and the race continues. He paints the horrors of the atomic bomb but allows himself to be entertained with films offering horror and vulgarity as choice fare.

The man who observes how at the very heart of states and nations a mechanical principle of justice is gradually destroying justice as an ethical demand should not be amazed that in the international area he trembles in the face of the possibility of a lawless war devoid of grace. On this point there can no longer be any doubt that power without grace will be victor over Christian, pagan and non-Christian alike if out of the division of the world an all-out war were to begin.

Both camps have the hydrogen bomb, and both will drop it, because both will claim on that day that they were attacked. The fact that neither of the camps can dispense with the atomic bomb, that in this point there is no longer any freedom for the West, indicates how decisively ethical freedom is threatened today. The atomic bomb has become inevitable; it is driving the man of power devoid of grace into the merciless arms of that power, to which he has too long paid homage. What remains is the horrible realization that the only alternatives now are "coexistence or extinction".

This is the situation of the divided world: A peculiar inner dependence of each of the enemy camps upon the other. The human perfection of power has reached a stage at which it is being threatened from all sides by nihilistic forces. Without the working of grace it will lead to chaos. This is the situation which the church sees itself facing.

### **What does the word "church" mean?**

We come thus to the second part of our encounter, the church. What does the word "church" mean in the context of our study; what do we include in it? We must raise this question because reality teaches us daily that the "church" in the strict sense of the word, as that which simply confronts a divided world,

does not exist. That is in fact one of the reasons why we must reflect on the position of the church in a divided world.

Attention should be drawn to the first encumbrance which weighs upon the church. She herself is divided. She does not confront the world as a unified whole. She is divided into the different Protestant groups in the ecumenical movement, the Roman Catholic church and the Eastern Greek Orthodox church. Within this threefold division, moreover, certain groupings can be recognized.

There exists an unbridgeable chasm caused by differences in doctrine between the Protestant and the Orthodox churches on the one hand, and the Roman Catholic church on the other; the political division too is reflected in the total body of the church; while, for example, the Protestant and Roman churches have their strength in the political West, that of the Orthodox lies in the political East. Thus the Protestant churches of the West enjoy in principle the freedom to extend their ecumenical efforts to the Eastern churches, and the Roman church too regards those of her members found in the Eastern power area as being completely equal. On the other hand, the Eastern church is denied ecumenical freedom.

Just one more word concerning the confessionally divided church. The division in faith is of not insignificant relevance in this connection, because it was once differences concerning the understanding of power and grace which led to the Reformation. We have mentioned this already. The papal church toward the end of the Middle Ages took the position of a power in the political sense of the word. The Popes waged wars, fought for their own state and entered politics on a large scale. That was one of the scandals of the church at that time. It became central and urgent when the Reformers demanded that faith should be based upon grace alone and that authority should be placed only in God's act of grace. According to the conviction of the Reformers, power over heaven and earth lay exclusively in the hands of God. Only by his grace could man in his earthly realm exercise power in a meaningful way. The church of the Reformers was to become a possibility, a vessel of grace, by becoming again a congregation [*Gemeinde*] in the primitive Christian sense of the word. In contrast, the Roman church persisted in its claim to be in itself the sole expression and authoritative dispenser of grace.

It was necessary to begin with to point out this fundamental difference between the Reformed and Roman Catholic concepts of the church, which has continued down to the present, because the tremendous relevance of the demand of the Reformers can be seen in view of the modern development. One is tempted to say that in our day it has become evident that we are still in the midst of the controversies of the time of the Reformation insofar as they were controversies concerning the meaning and significance of power



and grace. It appears to us that it is gradually becoming evident with overwhelming clarity that no church, no Protestant church, neither the Catholic nor the Orthodox church may covenant with today's secularized understanding of power, plagued as much by overweening arrogance as by nihilism, without itself being damaged.

This demand does not imply hostility to the state; it simply means allowing to the state what belongs to it, but also allowing the church for her part to work in that dimension which is appropriate to her, the dimension of grace. In our opinion, the churches belong to a single front in this regard. But because they are being driven into the dimension belonging to them by the evident tendency on the part of power to cut itself loose from grace, the churches must not attempt to cover up the differences between them concerning the nature of grace that have existed since the days of the Reformation. They must acknowledge this situation and continue to strive for a clarification. This necessity is recognized in wide circles of Protestantism, whereas in Catholicism it is being contested by the leaders of the church, though acknowledged in more independent circles. This can be seen in movements like that of the worker priests or the "Petits frères de Foucault" in France, movements which have an impressive evangelical character. A few years, however, may perhaps show that the Roman church will have to recognize what a mistake it was to ally itself so closely with totalitarian systems like that of Franco in Spain.

In a situation where Christians are forced into a minority, where ancient Christian countries like France are declared to be mission areas, and where Christian concepts and ideas disappear from men's understanding, the school of thought maintaining the division of faith presents a more serious picture than in the 19th century, a century so self-confident and filled with the certainty of life. It is necessary that this be recognized on both sides; that on the Catholic side the judgment of the Reformation be revised that likes to see in it only the beginning of the rebellion of man against the authority of the church, and that on our part we Protestants must outgrow the view that Protestantism consists in mere anti-Catholicism.

The church, however, is marked by yet another disunity, a disunity which is acknowledged only by Protestantism, it is true, whereas for the Roman church with its doctrine of the absolute, vicarious dispensation of grace it does not exist. I mean the *double nature of the church*. On the one hand the church is the visible expression of the Biblical promise, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them", forming the congregation of Christ, the body of Christ, and on the other hand she is also a worldly organization with rights, authority and perhaps worldly goods to a greater or less extent, often tied to the state, at any rate incorporated into society. I mean the church which as the guardian of Christian ethics and conviction claims to be the conscience of her legal, tax-paying members.



Since the beginning of the Reformation, this double nature of the church as the fellowship of believers and as an institution in society has been a continually erupting problem for Protestantism. It was this antithesis which drove the Reformers into controversy with the Anabaptists; it was this antithesis out of which the sects grew; it was this antithesis which, in the 19th century threatened to make of the church a class church; and it is again this antithesis out of which has arisen today's uncertainty in relation to the position of the Protestant churches in the ideological conflict between East and West.

### **The church in the conflict of power and ideas**

We said earlier that the conflict between East and West, as a political conflict in the most comprehensive sense of the word, is a conflict of power and a conflict of ideas. Two fundamentally different views of freedom stand opposed to each other.

Now it is a matter of fact that the church in general, and the Protestant church in particular, as the protector, amplifier and disseminator of Christian ideas and Christian ethics, has had a decisive part in forming the Western concept of freedom. In varying degrees, it is true. In the Reformed part of Protestantism the political effects were probably greater than in the Lutheran part. In both, however, the cultivation of an emphatically Christian ethic is inherent. I believe that we today are inclined to underestimate the terrific moral and educational significance of the Reformation as well as its revolutionary significance in matters of faith. The Reformation, after the general libertinism of the late Middle Ages, brought all the nations which it embraced under a conscious and purposeful Christian discipline.

I point with such emphasis to the Reformation as a comprehensive movement for ethical renewal because the opinion is current today that inclines to belittle the ethical concern of the Reformation because of the rejection of the ideologically orientated Protestant liberal theology of the 19th century, and that wants to see in the ties the churches of the West have to certain aspects of the Western idea of freedom merely the last remnant of the liberal era. Those who hold this opinion would prefer to shake off these ties as unevangelical in order—as it is said—for the church to win back her freedom between East and West. I realize that I have handled a serious problem a little polemically and perhaps not represented it fully. But it is my opinion that such an austere formulation does not completely miss the mark.

After all, the church as an institution has had a history of 1600 years. That is a period of time that, measured in earthly terms, has at least some significance. In this period the church has produced a Christian ethic, Christian education, Christian ideas about life and the state as they should be, Christian ideas, or at least ideas inspired by Christianity, concerning the best way for

men and nations to live together. Taking the whole of Christian history into account, the commandments of the Sermon on the Mount have time and again influenced the major and minor decisions of men. Men changed their pagan views, they abolished slavery, they aspired to Christian forms of economic and social life, and they even sought to fetter war with Christian bonds.

Especially in the case of war this ambivalence of the nature of the church, as the tool of grace and the vessel containing a Christian religion, can be expressly seen. War is one of the most fearful fruits of sin. It can never be evangelical. Nevertheless it was often labelled a Christian war by the mistake of confusing human ideas with the Gospel. But attempts were also made, because of the Christian conscience, to shackle war and to alleviate its consequences. The activity and effectiveness of the International Red Cross, unleashed by the impulses of conscience of Christian men, belongs in the list of these attempts. Should they be repudiated as compromises with violence? Or to put it another way, should a nation like Finland, which in its first war against the Soviet Union was completely thrown back upon itself, be called non-Christian merely for calling upon God in its desperate struggle?

The question of the significance of Christian ideology in the present situation touches one side of the problem of the position of the churches in the conflict between East and West. It cannot simply be answered with a radical rejection of Christian ideologies, for in our time it is just these ideologies that must become the centers of resistance over against the totalitarian aspirations of power. I call to mind the struggle of the German church under Hitler. I call to mind the impressive position which is accorded to the conscience in the Anglo-Saxon world and which rests on a Christian basis. Thanks to this, in England and America down to our own day Christian voices were able to speak out as often as it was necessary, and they were heard, even when they made the so-called political realists highly uncomfortable. All this may not suddenly be dismissed with a shrug of the shoulders.

The fact that it has been the church and the ideas she has inspired which have in our day been molding the dependable centers of resistance against the totalitarian character of power affects the position of the church in the East-West conflict. So long as this conflict concerns ideas—*but only so long!*—the church as a Christian institution belongs on the side of the ideal of the state that is current in the free world. Not, to speak coarsely, to bless this ideal. Not, to a certain extent in an underhand way, to make a pact with power and finally to preach a crusade *nolens volens*. No, there can be no crusades in a situation where power is so greatly threatened by that which is absolutely evil as Jacob Burckhardt has described it, where it is becoming almost entirely the slave of evil, especially if the political tensions should ever break out into war. I should like to put it thus: Among the many ideas of freedom which are to be found in the world there is one which may be called the daughter of



the church, and it is in the interest of the church that this be effectual. The definitive dimension of the church is indeed grace; its power is faith. But the freedom which has the church's sympathy is that free area wrested from the power of the state by law, something that is in keeping with man's status as the crown of creation.

### **The church and freedom**

We have thus arrived at one of the central concerns of today's conflict between East and West, the question of freedom. It is a question which involves antitheses: On the one hand it concerns the content of Christian freedom, on the other hand the effectualness of the church as an evangelical power in state and society.

Concerning the first part I will express myself only briefly, and I am especially conscious, as a layman, of attempting to define a concept which theologians have already defined more effectively. We call ourselves evangelical Christians because we are gripped by the truth that it is faith that makes us free. We regard as great Christians, as ones standing in a state of grace, those who through their faith found the freedom to live joyously in this world and who appeared in an era lacking in foundation as those who were upheld by God. Two thousand years of Christian history show us that such witnesses were summoned from among all nations to stand fast, under circumstances of complete freedom as well as of complete tyranny. They were witnesses for the Word of God, and God gave them, in apparently hopeless external circumstances, the opportunity to speak his Word. These witnesses were active—as Günter Jacob pointed out among other things in his address in connection with the 400-year celebration in commemoration of the Peace of Augsburg (1555)—also in the period of primitive Christianity before the legalization of the church under Constantine, when the persecutions were severe and pitiless. In spite of this the Word pressed forth from the catacombs out into the world.

We have now arrived at the point where the general direction in which we would like to move has been indicated. But an answer has not yet been obtained to the concrete question as to what the attitude of the church should be toward political freedom in our time. Unless we were to draw the conclusion from the example of the catacombs that the church is concerned neither about the freedom of the West nor about the non-freedom of the East. The church must live for grace, and therefore be above these things. She must simply hold fast to the commission of preaching the Word. She will do this of course where external circumstances are free. She will also preach the Word, as far as possible, where all external circumstances endeavor to hinder her. God will know why he has allowed only such limited opportunity. There



is nothing more to be done. After all, the first Christians did not protest against the violence of the state.

This argumentation is seductive. It is correct, as we emphasized earlier, insofar as it points out that the church must never make a pact with power in order to hold on to a place for the preaching of the Word. No, the church must not make a pact. But it must make demands, both on this side and on the other! The more intolerant, the more secular, the more emancipated the behavior of power becomes, the more decisively must the church demand room for herself. But where this room is not contested, she has to look upon the freedom granted to her not as a concession to be gratefully accepted, but as something natural. In a time when the whole world is concerned, freedom means for the church the demanding of room for grace.

I believe that we should distinguish in this uniquely central question between what the task of the church is and what the task of the individual Christian is. It then follows that in relation to the conduct of the church, no action taken at a given historical moment can be said to be valid for all time. The conduct of the early Christian church of the catacombs, acting through the power of grace alone within the Roman Empire, or that of the Huguenots in France at the time of the Counter-Reformation, or indeed that of the church in any land in the age of the atomic bomb, will differ on each occasion. Whereas the conduct of the individual Christian in a world considered to be in apostasy from God has remained unchanged in two thousand years. It is characterized in following Christ, characterized by the Cross.

Let us clarify what we mean, especially in comparing the situation of the early Christian church of the catacombs in the Roman Empire with the conduct of the churches today. Today we find, as then, a comprehensive, continuously assimilating world culture. But now notice the differences: At that time the "world" was identical with the Roman Empire. That world was not divided. The political struggle took place between a self-confident cultural power and the barbarians who were outside this power. Today we find an actual division of the world into two camps which assert contradictory principles of freedom and justice and which are struggling for total power over the globe. At that time there was a world empire whose inner weaknesses were the tremendous distances. Rome ruled in an absolute sense, it is true, but it was at a distance. Its power when it attacked was certainly brutal; however, it could not even hope to attack everywhere. Today we find a concept of power that uses scientifically tested methods to ensnare whole peoples intellectually, spiritually and materially in talons of steel. At that time, about two thousand years ago, Paul could preach the Word for years before Rome noticed that this servant of the Word was about to lift classical society and its world of ideas off its hinges. Today it would be impossible for Paul to speak at all in a place where he was not wanted.

Naturally one can say that God will determine the time when, in the East, for example, the Word will again break through and be heard. It does not lie in our power to force it. Then one can say with equal validity that evidently God desires the freedom of the West so that at least in one part of the world the Word may be free, that in one part of the world witnesses like Billy Graham or Abbé Pierre are able to come forward. But that would mean nothing other than that the freedom of the West is a responsibility for the church.

No, I cannot follow those who tell us that the freedom of the West does not concern us, because it is not the freedom of God, and that the church is no more responsible for it than she is for the lack of freedom of the East. I should like to say that here we are concerned with the parable of the talents. Should the church behind the so-called "iron curtain" bury her talent till the hour of liberation? The Orthodox church of the Soviet Union appears to conduct herself in this manner. She is satisfied with the narrow and isolated area which those in power have left her, and limits herself to give to those who desire it edifying comfort. We have not heard that conflicts have arisen between this church and the power of the state because the church had demanded, for example, permission to work among the prisoners in the concentration camps, or freedom to work among young people. Certainly, this church is not tossing her talent away, but is burying it.

We should not be pharisaical. We know very well that an evangelical word spoken peripherally by an Orthodox priest that by chance falls upon the heart of a fully convinced Communist can have the same mighty effect as the Word proclaimed in a great evangelistic gathering anywhere in the West. Grace is not measured by our standards!

True as that is, it is also true that inevitable retreat on the part of Christians in the face of violent power must not be confused with resignation. The reason for the existence of the visible church can only be to witness. Christ demanded in the parable of the talents that Christians put their talents to work. The question is not whether the Christian can be an adherent of an absolute state economy or not. Under the standards of faith and of grace the questions about forms of economy or the social system are purely questions of judgment. However, as soon as such a question of judgment is coupled with the demand to deny and oppose the claim of God's lordship over the world and over men, then the Christian is faced with the same decision as when he was required to worship Caesar.

Again: in innumerable varied ways Christians have struggled for almost two thousand years for the state to remain what it is, an order of law of this world, and for it to allow men the freedom to be able to hearken to the Word of God. Is this no longer to be valid? Is the church of the West also to deny her militant responsibility, to withdraw to the line of those who already believe and to await the end?



We are of the opinion that the church of the West, especially the Protestant church, should not take lightly her concern for freedom. She still has freedom, and that is her great opportunity, her great responsibility. A responsibility which represents, of course, primarily a responsibility in her own area, the West. This is all the greater because the Western concept of freedom is degenerating more and more into license and anarchy, into an intellectual abstraction which will not be able to withstand the continuous attacks of power.

Do not misunderstand me. Freedom, for the church, is no missionary commission. The church has to be a witness to grace and faith. But it is for that reason that she must demand freedom. Where she does not do this, she involves herself in guilt.

If we hold fast to the fact that in the age of the threat of the totality of power it is grace that is the decisive dimension of the church, it should not appear as if we were endeavoring—metaphorically speaking—to flee in terror from the sight of the innumerable petty afflictions of this world and all its unsolved problems to a mountaintop, in order to enjoy in panorama the great beauty of the whole. Even the proclamation of the claim of grace can be flight. It is an old story: “My Kingdom is not of this world” and “Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and to God the things that are God’s” have always been viewed as a biblically based plenary indulgence for our daily failure, as a pastoral shrug of the shoulder in the face of real human distress. We know very well what it means for the church to exist in a divided world. It means giving answers to this age’s confusing intoxication of activity, to its social and economic injustice; in the case of Germany it means giving an answer to the fact of division in people and state or to the question of rearmament; in the case of France giving an answer to the colonial problem; in the case of America giving an answer to the racial question — to choose only a few examples.

It seems to me that much is gained if we stop seeing these individual everyday questions according to nations or other groupings. In a time when the struggle for power touches every nation around the world at the same time, the church must be able to see the immediacy and the comprehensive connection of all the individual problems. She should really be the *Oikumene*! And after she has done that she must give answers not out of partnership with power on one side, but out of the authority of grace.

### Faith, love, hope

In conclusion we should like to point out the following: Grace works, as it has at all times, by means of three things: faith, love and hope. These three are what is genuine in a day in which men cling to three inferior things: illusion, sentimentality and and obsession with the future.

*Grace which works by faith* should in our day affect primarily the concept of time. In the problem of the concept of time modern man's lack of grace can be felt. The idol of this age is the future. But what a future! It consists in the obsession with the future in which East and West meet. The East justifies its principle of violence by pointing to the future; this, they say, will one day be of such a kind that violence will disappear of itself. Until this ultimate goal is reached one cannot do without violence. The People's Democracies or the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics have not yet reached the ultimate goal of real Communism. Coming generations, however, will enjoy its fruits without limit. Therefore sacrifice your present for the future! Believe in the future!

Is it perhaps different in the West? Here the concept of the "modern man" was invented in order to justify today's way of living. This modern man of the West is a man living with an eye to the future; paradoxically speaking, he is hounded by the future. He lives in the present moment because it promises him a better tomorrow. He consumes in advance; he exchanges his leisure for activity so as to take flight from the present; he works today in order to have a better life tomorrow. While still enjoying the present he is already thinking of the future, naturally higher enjoyment of the morrow. The course of the economy, the law of social life and political events are determined by the conviction that tomorrow it will be better. This is the way the world appears in which illusion has replaced grace.

In this situation of a divided world the church is faced, both on this side and on the other, with the tremendous and growing task of witnessing to a radically different dimension, to grace, in order to give men again a sense of the present. Of that present that knows that time also, the dimension of man, belongs to God. Of that present which is the actual subject of the Sermon on the Mount when we are told not to be anxious. The Christian is not required to serve that which is farthest away, that which belongs to the morrow, but to serve his neighbor, that which is nearest and belongs to today. The reason being that we are required to base our life on faith as a reality.

This truth of the significance of the present must be proclaimed by the church to a divided world obsessed by the future. This truth distinguishes faith from the ideologies more clearly than anything else. The church has to proclaim it as a truth of today, not as one of yesterday. As one of today, which is the herald of a different time yet to come. Modern man's obsession with the future is flight. The obsession of human ideas with the future is a rejection of the truth that the world belongs to God. The expectation of the Christian is steadfastness. Steadfastness is the great responsibility of the church of today.

*Love working in faith:* Do we comprehend the full extent of the curse of our time: its inability to love? The most certain sign of true love is total, incalculable self-giving, unburdened by utilitarian motives, whereas one of the most impressive signs of the spirit of the times is its will to total utilitarianism.



Man would not like to see this world redeemed by the working of self-giving love; his desire is to redeem himself by planned organization.

For that reason, because of this tendency toward total utilitarianism, the temptations of power become specially severe and strong. With it man is degraded to the level of the material. What becomes only too apparent in war with its mass destruction of human life lurks everywhere in the background of this culture. We need only think of how modern man has broken into the realm of nature with the help of technology and has lost his respect for its character as creation. This world needs, more clearly than men have ever needed it, the message that man is a child of God and the sacrificial willingness of the few, drawing upon love, to serve the many. But here also there is no difference between the West's feverish prosperity, the transitional East's apathetic submissiveness and the East's artificial remoteness from God which the state has established. The church which acts out of grace is the church of love—particularly above and beyond all zonal and other frontiers. This responsibility is at once the most urgent and the most difficult. The church must never, under any circumstances, abandon the truth that God loves the world. Therefore, both on this side and on the other, she must counteract those tendencies which with growing shamelessness demand and preach hatred. A doctrine of hatred is prevalent in the world today; it is ideological hatred, which must ultimately result in the justification of total war. Here the church must not retreat one step; she must keep watch against all the tendencies of hatred, be they based on class, race, nation or ideology.

And finally, hope which streams forth from grace: There they are, the backgrounds of all these chaotic or, on the contrary, systematic tendencies of the time, which are expressed at times as existentialism, as nihilism, even as Communism. There they are, in the ultimate despair of the world. Some of them break down the bridges and flirt with the abyss behind them, others flee defiantly into the cardboard structure of their ideology. But suddenly both are shaken by the dread of the age; by the dread of the hydrogen bomb; by the fear of the consequences of power devoid of grace; by the nightmare that one day man might annihilate his sphere of life, his earth itself.

Even there the message of salvation cries halt! Certainly, in the Gospels the day of judgment is spoken of as a day of destruction, that is, of the collapse of reality seen from a purely earthly point of view. This collapse is at the same time defined as the day of Christ's return, as the beginning of the new Kingdom. How fundamentally different from this "Thy Kingdom" is the most absurd of all human presumptions, the opinion that it is given to man to bring about the end of the world. It is given to him to cause unutterable harm in creation. It is given to him to multiply by itself again and again the destructive force of wars; it is given to him to bring nature into almost complete subjection to himself. But in spite of this, these abilities will always be confined within earthly and human limits.

Atomic war is the final consequence of the emancipation of power from grace. It makes war as an element of human reality an absurdity. In this it demonstrates with impressive finality the absurdity of man's rebelling against God and placing all his faith in his redemption of himself. But this raving of man, with all its appalling qualities, remains similar to the raving of the madman in his cell. In his irresponsible game with the forces of nature man can do infinite good or infinite harm to himself and to his fellow-men. He cannot touch God. God's grace will be mightier than the senseless raging of emancipated power; God's love will be stronger than the most abysmal malice of the most lost of men.

Who else but the church, the fellowship of those who have been touched by the Gospel, should know and bear witness to this and act accordingly, confident in the presence of God?

#### Four theses

Thus, to conclude and sum up, I should like to say that the conduct of the church in the divided world may be defined in four theses:

1. The divided world is the world of human concepts, obstinacy and struggles for power, as it has always been. In this world the temptations of emancipated power which rejects grace have become so great today, its possibilities have become so destructive, that on this side and on the other, in the West and in the East, it threatens to reduce human action to meaninglessness.

The actual and the latent totality of power make it impossible for the church to make pacts with it. But where the church has remained a state church, organizational dependence on the power of the state must not affect the freedom of the church.

2. As far as the controversies in the divided world are controversies about the concept of freedom, the church as a Christian institution has the task of demanding freedom as a state of being and of resisting every open or secret demand of total power upon man as incompatible with his state of being a child of God. She has to do this because according to evangelical conviction it is only grace which can give meaning to man's freedom. On the other hand it is not the church's task to take upon herself to missionize for freedom as a political idea.

3. In a situation in which—on this side and on the other—power has emancipated or seeks to emancipate itself from justification by grace, the church as the community of Christ must base all her action unconditionally on grace, and must stake her fellowship, her works of love, her hope and her preaching solely on the power and the reality of faith.

4. The conflict between power and grace is a conflict for the soul of man in all the nations of the earth. Politics has become world politics in every one of



its forms and effects. There it is the church's task to be aware on her part of her position in the world and to let her preaching of the Word and her ecclesiastical activity be led more emphatically than ever by the ecumenical spirit.

\* \* \*

With this I have come to the end of my thoughts. They were centered on the reality of God's mercy on a world which has become as proud as it is perplexed. We all belong to this world. We all have to rely on what the Savior said in his high-priestly prayer:

"I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from evil."

May it be that those who call themselves Christians in our day will be kept from that basic evil of the age, flight from faith into the illusion of power.

*The desire for the absolute, whether for power or perfection, is not introduced by any particular doctrine or religion, but grows up spontaneously in human nature . . .*

Reinhold Niebuhr

The Self and the Dramas of History

## The Critique of Government\*

On the problems of the claim of leadership in present-day society<sup>1</sup>

There have been complaints about rulers and accusations against rulers at all periods of history and under the most diverse political and social systems.

However, when we say in modern society "the critique of governing", we are faced with a completely different phenomenon, which can and will be expressed in such moral accusations, but is not entirely exhausted by them. The moral accusation against the rulers at any given time, against their abuse of power or their injustice, can in fact presuppose the legitimacy of the existing system of governing and need by no means question that legitimacy. But since the beginning of modern society all that has been different. If we select as a decisive year the year 1789—doing so, of course, we do not deny that the intellectual revolutionary process in matters of governing began very much earlier—it is clear that critique of governing now means the fundamental, radical criticism of the spiritual and intellectual, and above all of the religious foundations of all the forms of governing handed down to that time; it means the conscious and deliberate destruction of these forms of governing, that is, of monarchy, of feudalism, of the state based on privilege and of all relationships of personal loyalty and obedience connected with them. This process of the political, social and economic undermining and destruction of all the traditional forms of governing is conditioned by their spiritual and intellectual subversion and undermining, by systematic and radical doubt in regard to the institutions of government and those who governed, in regard to their metaphysical and political right to govern. This radical critique of government has been an important element in the great process of secularization. Its effect is still being felt today, as for example in trade union criticism of the entrepreneur, of the leadership claims of certain groups and classes in modern society and economy. At the time of the French Revolution this critique was linked with the utopian belief that by revolutionary action one had, so to say, to create a clean slate, in order then to build on this bare surface, solely by means of the forces of social and political reason, the new structure of society. This society, however, was to be a society of people living in *liberty* and *equality*. But true liberty and equality seemed to presuppose the complete negation and the complete demolition of all government, of all social hierarchy. The whole of modern society still lives on the

\* Herrschaft: government, governing, rule, lordship; i.e. the term is not limited to political government.

<sup>1</sup> From a lecture delivered before an audience of employers at the Evangelical Academy at Loccum on January 9th, 1956.



passionate pathos and ethos of this struggle against government for the sake of liberty and equality, so much so, that de Tocqueville's prophecy is beginning to be fulfilled, that equality carried through in full threatens to stifle liberty in the conformity of the masses and that liberty freed and emptied of all substance and standards has prepared, and is still preparing the way for man's degradation to the point of mere fulfillment of function.

Certainly no society can continue for any length of time without the functions and institutions of governing, not even a democratically constituted society. In particular, the mass society of our day stands in need of the firm framework of ordered government, if it is not to founder in the chaos of hollow liberties. In the first place, modern society, under the impulse of the criticism of the old forms of governing, (like absolutism, for example) which had become necessary in so many ways, and because of the demand for liberty and equality, has either had to reintroduce and allow the forms of government as it were anonymously and apocryphally, or has had to make new attempts to reinstate them and at the same time legitimize them in new ways, by criticizing the criticism, that is, through a criticism of rationalism, of secularization, etc., as was the case in conservative, political romanticism. In any case, the history of modern society can be understood as a mighty conflict between liberty and government, which has also had a profound influence on economic relationships and institutions. For in the proletarian movement of the 19th century the demand for liberty has so crystallized that it has come to be viewed as the liberty and independence of the working man, the final result of which is his right to co-determination in the great economic social structures. Industry today is still involved in the total situation created by this great struggle for freedom and the right to govern.

Thirty years ago Max Weber said that capitalist big business was distinguished by its governmental structure, and that the same was true of all modern economic communities (*Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 1922, p. 603 f.; cf. p. 124 ff.). Similarly, modern sociology speaks of the "dualistic structure of authority" of business<sup>2</sup>. Power, government and leadership are indispensable even in modern society and economy. All the more necessary is their limitation, their control. But this in turn is dependent on the question of their legitimization, of their real right and purpose, and if this question is not answered afresh, authority that apprehends the total person of man will be neither limited nor put in its proper place.

We must first, however, bear in mind a peculiar change in the institutions of government which has had its effect in the state as well as in economic life. The rational spirit of modern society has taken hold of the forms of governing. It is bringing about the rationalization, functionalization and bureaucratization

<sup>2</sup> See H. Schelsky in his *Industrie- und Betriebssoziologie* in Gehlen-Schelsky, *Soziologie*, Düsseldorf 1955, 2nd. edition, p. 185.

of government, while government can make use of an abundance of new technical and organizational means which the spirit of modern society has invented. As a result of this, government can penetrate into every corner of society; everything can and must be organized, the eye of power can be omnipresent. The new technical means, like those which can be used in steering the masses and in transmitting news and orders, for example, imply an unprecedented *intensification of power* in modern society, which is equally dangerous to those who govern and those who are governed. The functionalization of man means that he is no longer regarded primarily as a person, but merely as one who has a *function*; he is, as Hans Freyer says, defined by his function. He has therefore become in the strict sense a "functionary", and that can be said not only of the East but also of the West, of its mass organizations and of its huge concerns. The rationalization of governing in society and in economic life brings with it for example the depersonalization of governing and of ownership, the emergence of the manager and the fact that the functions of entrepreneur and director become divorced from ownership. The progressive division of labor and specialization is leading to the restriction of the management of a business to the organization and coordination of the various fields, the responsibilities and results of the experts. Bureaucracy is growing in a way ever more powerful and incalculable, the staffs with differentiated responsibilities are becoming increasingly enlarged. Immediate supervision, action, decision and governing, which was possible in the small easily surveyable units of society in prerevolutionary ages as a direct effect of the man of power who was in possession of all power of decision, has now become impossible; now only a gigantic substructure, a complete system of intermediaries, makes it possible to govern and at the same time rationalizes it.

It can only be described as highly paradoxical that especially from the soil of modern society, which has submitted all the institutions of government and indeed the very right to govern to radical questioning, there should have sprung forth the most impressive forms and structures of power known in the history of human society.

Because of this, if we are not mistaken, the important thing today is to bring freedom and government again into relationship one with the other. A fact most intimately associated with the nature of man and of his world is that a society of the free cannot exist without having counterbalances of freedom of many kinds. The absolute solution of the problem of liberty and government will be found only in the Kingdom of God. Only the "subjects" and the "servants of God", who bow before his "omnipotence" and "sole lordship" are absolutely free. Here and here alone do the states of being free and being governed coincide.

But this glimpse of the future, glorious liberty of the children of God lays an obligation upon us to see that in this world of the penultimate order of



things the permanently necessary function of governing is humanized. Government is not to be allowed to ruin liberty and cast it aside—for then we can no longer be men whom God has created and called not to a slave's existence, but to the freedom of being a person—nor, on the other hand, may freedom desire to drive government out of the world, for the same God has given us government as a preliminary, penultimate order of human society.

With this in view, three problems must be considered rather more closely:

1. the problem of the *legitimization* of government,
2. the problem of the *elite*,
3. the problem of the *personal attitude* of the entrepreneur and the management to the *function of governing*.

### The legitimization of government

As we saw to begin with, our situation is determined by the fact that the traditional legitimizations have been destroyed. There is no holy succession, and there is no longer any divine right of kings, not to mention a divine right of entrepreneurs and directors. In the modern world only the "boss" is left. But because today's society, just as much as every earlier one, stands in need of the functions of governing and leading, it abounds in the most diverse attempts to establish, support and legitimize the functions of government anew.

The *first* form of establishment is, as we would say with Max Weber, the *human-charismatic*<sup>3</sup>. The word "charisma" derives from the language of Christianity and there denotes the special gift of grace bestowed by the Holy Spirit on members of the Christian community. In the secularized sociological sense the expression signifies the extraordinary gifts and capacity of a man that lie outside the bounds of the normal and commonplace, with which he can therefore accomplish very special achievements, whether good or ill. (Thus it is tangent to Goethe's use of the word "demonic".) The ruler is therefore legitimized by his special charisma, say, of a political nature, to be one "born to rule". In this the ethical exemplariness of his personality can be of great importance; yet it is not this which is decisive, but the fact that here is a man of especial power and originality, who succeeds, who binds other men, perhaps the masses, a whole nation, to himself and in this way represents the center of a formation of power, of a governmental system. This is how phenomena such as Napoleon I, Hitler and Stalin or Mao Tse Tung are to be understood. It is curious that precisely in modern society, which is so highly rationalized, charismatic leader-personalities should have assumed such special significance and are given such a prominent role. Moreover, the development of our modern economy without the action of powerful figures of this kind

<sup>3</sup> *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* p. 140 ff.

cannot be imagined at all. We have had sufficient experience of the immense danger inherent in the elevation of charismatic, frequently demoniac ruler-personalities, to whose spell everyone yields and submits, as to make unnecessary any more detailed characterization. This danger is so much the greater, in that this elevation takes place in a society which has cast off all obligations and all order, which has lost the standards of right and wrong and the possibility of restraining power. The political substitute religion of the "cult of the leader" is the consequence, and with its aid the ruler fortifies his rule.

The charismatic form of governing has been engaged up to the present day in conflict with the *second* form of the modern legitimization of government, the *democratic social*. By means of an election procedure the individual is elevated to the position of representative of a group, of a nation. The fact that he is elected—by a majority or unanimously—entitles him to leadership and government. The man who is elected depends, inwardly and outwardly, on recognition by the body of electors.

And *thirdly*, the *technical rational* legitimization of government has emerged very prominently in modern society. It relates to a person's achievement, to the excellence of his technical knowledge, to his ability. Ability, pure achievement,—nothing else—entitles a person to lead and guide. This form of legitimization tends to prevail especially in the economic sphere. What often lies at the back of it is a rational superstitious belief in the idea that achievements can be measured. Equipped with this standard, people believe it is possible to recognize those who are qualified for leadership. What the man in question, in addition to his prominent ability, represents as a human being and a character, becomes unimportant to this way of thinking. The final product of this conception of legitimization emerges in the figure of the mere technical manager. Here again that basic feature of the functional society becomes very apparent, namely the fact that man as a whole person is disappearing from its system, or rather that a place cannot even be found for him in it.

We shall now ask how the *Christian* understanding of the function of government is related to these possibilities of legitimization, although admittedly we shall have to confine ourselves to some of the principal aspects. It may be of decisive importance that from the very outset the idea of obligation towards one's fellow-man must be included in the conception of governing. Lutheran social ethics has done this from the beginning by tying two basic categories to each other, the concept of *office* and the concept of *service*. If the task of governing and leading is understood as an office, it means first of all that man governs not as a result of his own power, but because he is under a commission from God of which the human community must be made aware. Secondly, however, the office is there at the same time to represent others, in whose service I am to exercise it. Office directs us into the service of others, it cannot be executed without the true humility of serving. In my office I have to consider the good of others, for whom, as one in a position of government



or leadership, I am responsible. That elevates the man who is responsible above the level of mere power to give directions and above the fulfillment of technical functions. Thus genuine *authority* can be fashioned anew only insofar as we serve others honestly. The specialized ability of the organizer, the technician, the businessman, their "achievements", are not enough. After that, we must know that our authority, our power to lead, is in every case a *derived* authority. For in what we do and omit to do we are responsible to God and subject to his lordship. But this subjection is not to be individualistically understood; for in our relationship to God, and in the responsibility which we bear to him for the exercise of leadership and guidance, our neighbor is always included, insofar as it is God's will and commandment which bind us to our neighbor. The commandment to love God and to love our neighbor are inextricably bound up together. It is this above all which those who govern must recognize. One cannot serve God without loving one's neighbor. The exercise of government cannot be divorced from the person of our neighbor, that is of all for whom we bear a common responsibility, for example in the factory or in the office. Otherwise the function of government will be "demonified", that is, perverted through the violation of the relationship of man to his fellow-man, and this is possible indeed not only in the totalitarian systems. Therefore, the function of government must not be isolated. It must rather be transformed into responsible leadership. Dr. Ernst Frank of the Gute-Hoffnungshütte rightly said in this connection two years ago at a conference at an academy in Hesse that our task was to lead, not to govern, and this concept of leadership can and must be saved from the corruption wrought by the National Socialist ideology. Government and partnership are not contradictory in the factory when the former is exercised as responsible leadership on behalf of one's fellow human beings who are fellow-workers in the factory. Within this type of leadership even the technical rational element which demands ability and achievement retains its restricted and relative validity. We must supervise and control the technical tools and possibilities. Without superior specialized knowledge, love, the tie between a man and his neighbor, would necessarily degenerate into feeble Christian sentimentality.

Finally, in the attitude also of the entrepreneur and of the management, even in a factory based on an "authoritarian" structure, the democratic social element of legitimization can and must be brought into effect by means of the Christian view of things. Without the consent, the respect and the acknowledgement of those whose work we have to arrange and direct, we cannot do justice to our office. Only through this act of consent, by which we are empowered as representatives of a concrete social body, can a personal and human partner relationship arise between those "at the top" and those "at the bottom".

As a point of criticism, however, it must be added that *all* the legitimizations of the function of government which are usual and popular in present-day

society have an entirely *penultimate* and provisional character. They need for their part to be justified. Neither the mere fact of our social and economic position, nor our "charisma" and our achievement, nor the consent of those we lead can give the ruler firm ground under his feet. All these legitimizations must for their part be affirmed and authorized. If one remains confined within this circle, then either government or freedom, either codetermination or proper order and subordination will be perverted. That is as true of the state as of the individual business concern. The fundamental problem of our society is everywhere the same. Therefore Christians have to struggle against absolutizing government as well as against absolutizing freedom. In both cases we are confronted with attempts to dehumanize man. Man is created to be neither a slave nor a demigod able to enjoy absolute freedom. Here the Christian view of man assumes decisive significance for the integration of society. Our freedom can never be more than a freedom qualified and limited by our fellowmen, and precisely for the sake of our fellow human beings, in this world of sin and sinners we stand in urgent need of government and order if we are not to prepare the way for the chaos of hollow freedom.

On the other hand it is clear that the freedom of those who govern must also be limited, not indeed only from within, through their obligation of responsibility to God and their neighbor, but also through *institutions*. It is high time that the Lutheran social ethic especially should make this recognition its own; for it has greatly sinned in this respect: for long decades it has completely misunderstood the significance of institutions in the broadest sense, as for example those concerned with the legal and the social and political guarantee of the freedom of the working man, of trade unions, etc. Thus we are concerned not only with problems of the individual conduct of those who govern, but also above all with the control and limitation of those who govern, through legal institutions of a social *order*, so that by this means there is some protection of those who are in any way subordinate to them; so that they are able to rely not merely upon the functioning of the leaders' conscience, which in a society consisting of sinful men is always a rather uncertain matter. In this connection H. Schelsky<sup>4</sup> points out the *social* and *political* responsibility of management. It has to fit itself into the social and ethical basic standards of society. The entrepreneur and the management are also responsible for liberty, justice and order, because each concern has a corporate social function. This responsibility is heightened in present-day society because here on all sides there are powerful tendencies towards the functionalization and dehumanization of man.

<sup>4</sup> Gehlen-Schelsky *op. cit.* p. 168 f.; 102 f.



## The problem of the elite

We cannot deal here with a comprehensive exposition of the complicated and difficult sociological and socio-theological problem of the elite, but with a few remarks under the heading of our question, that is, from the point of view of the critique of government.

Our present-day society is *pluralistic* in structure, i. e. it is permeated and practically governed by a host of associations and mass organizations, partly of a political, partly of an economic, and frequently of a mixed character. These are differentiated from each other not only by social contrasts, but also by old ideological fixations which in fact threaten the unity of society and of the state because they destroy or at least imperil the basic social and ethical standards by means of opposing interpretations. This is exemplified in the appearance of various specialized elite groups of technically highly-developed staffs of officials graded and differentiated in hierarchical order. In the first place we must clearly and soberly recognize that mass society cannot be kept going and in order at all without specialist groups of the elite in the technological, economic and political spheres. But two questions which go beyond this are of decisive importance, namely: What do these groups of the elite really live on spiritually and intellectually? And the other which is connected with the first: What unites these pluralistic groups of the elite, or do they serve only the progressive disintegration of society? To the first question it may first of all be pointed out that these elite groups frequently live on the *remnants of tradition* left over from earlier forms of the elite; as for example from a feudal-aristocratic tradition of the elite, which was later developed and secularized in Prussian-German officialdom and the officer corps. Among German entrepreneurs, too, such traditions are still alive. But agreement must finally be reached on the fact that the problems of modern society *cannot* be solved by means of the remnants of the feudal-aristocratic tradition, however magnificent and effective it may once have been. Since the old elite and its outlook cannot be brought back or restored, attempts have developed in modern society to create *new* groups of elite with the aid of the social and political *substitute religions* of the 19th and 20th centuries (liberalism, communism, fascism). Thus the new, revolutionary elite groups are under obligation to various penultimate powers and orders, which are interpreted and preached by a secular dogmatic and prophecy as ultimate powers and values. Then the ideological groups of elite confront each other and tear the nation apart, or the one group wrests for itself absolute rule and exterminates all others. Western society is, in contrast to that of the east, threatened by the spiritual and intellectual plurality of the elite groups. This, however, can lead to a general disenchantment, to a radical demolition of faith in elitism altogether, which renders impossible all forms of recognition of ranks of leadership. But then there emerges once more the picture of a society in which there are only technical managers,

who are no longer elite in the true sense of the word, precisely because they are unable to create or to represent any binding view of man, because they have no ethos, because no "esprit de corps" unites them, and because they themselves indeed are only mechanized and functionalized men, but no longer "whole persons". Because of this they can neither govern nor lead; they cannot radiate any forces by which to impress their stamp upon men, which was the chief function of the old elite; they can only keep technical mechanisms in perfect working order or continue their technical development. But even the highest technical intellect cannot replace the social and ethical qualities which are the first requirement in an elite. In the depths of modern society there is a fear of the rule of the technical manager, and for this very reasons the masses turn again and again to the "charismatic" ruler-personalities. There is no cause to assume that we have already escaped this danger.

The problem cannot be solved by the annihilation and swallowing up of one elite by another. Nor can we return to the bourgeois form of a purely academic, educated elite. Their hour too is past. We cannot develop the elite of the future either from the employer class or from the class of trade union officials alone, either from the Socialist Party of Germany (SPD) or from the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). Only one possibility remains, that of *drawing together* the elite from the various groups of elite and *educating them to cooperate with their fellow-men*. The question as to whether we should really agree to such a drawing together must be unequivocally answered. Immediately, however, the question again arises of the socio-ethical basis on which this could take place, and here the church's share of responsibility for the education of the future elite becomes apparent. For the assembling of an elite from the various groups of elite would be possible only if we were to decide on common basic socio-ethical standards of justice, liberty and order, of governing and serving, of the relationship of man to fellow-man. We must strive for as simple and concise an expression of these basic standards as is possible. It would be a complete misunderstanding of the Christian message and its socio-ethical significance for present-day society if we were to relegate these to the sphere of mere norms or social ideals. The Christian message does indeed radically uncover what is basically lacking in our society, but it does not comfort us with distant ideals, but with the present, ordering and healing power of God, in which lie hidden the forces for constituting social and corporate existence. Admittedly everything depends on their being represented in the reality of social history. The unity of society is by no means effected by a common recognition of basic socio-ethical standards, but rather only by an elite which believes in them, models itself on them and dares, however imperfectly, to live by them and make them a reality. But this elite must today come together from *all* classes and groups of society. It can be formed neither from the remnants of the old elite groups nor from the specialist elite groups of the trade unions, political parties and business associations. The new elite must



develop out of these various groups of elite by accepting and answering the challenge inherent in the pluralistic disintegration of society. This answer is impossible unless the men of the present-day groups of elite face anew the Christian message and its socio-ethical significance for society. All who are in so-called "leading positions" today bear a responsibility to see that this work is begun, in the modesty that knows that it is not a question here of leading one's own particular elite group to victory or of pointing to it as the only one entitled to lead. But with that we have come again to the question of the attitude of the leader to the function of governing.

### **The problem of the personal attitude of the entrepreneur to the function of government**

We shall elucidate briefly those attitudes which have been particularly powerful in German social history. There are four different forms, which have already been treated in their essentials by Götz Briefs in his industrial sociology of 25 years ago<sup>5</sup>.

The *first* of these four principal forms is patriarchalism. It regards the factory as an extension of the *home*. It does not yet know the human, political, social, legal freedom and maturity of the working man, and could not have known them in pre-revolutionary society. When, on the other hand, it is retained in the framework of modern society which has been created by the political and social revolution, it becomes a social anachronism, which can contribute nothing to the solution of our present-day problems because it does not take seriously the presuppositions out of which they have arisen. Above all it neither can nor will recognize the socio-ethical claim of the labor and trade union movement, and logically it would also have to attempt to demolish the labor laws and the socio-political institutions which have resulted from the social struggles of the past century; it would thus deprive the working man of his maturity and precipitate a fresh social catastrophe.

The *second* attitude, which to a great extent even in the 19th century had taken the place of social patriarchalism, was economic *individualism*, which judged from a socio-ethical point of view represented a retrogressive phenomenon. That is, the entrepreneur withdraws to the employer-employee relationship of pure payment for achievement. Individualism could, however, where there were men resolved to do good, as there have always been in German capitalism, be modified by the intrusion of *humane* considerations. This people within the factory. We cannot here pursue further the frequently has given rise to many ideas on human economy, education and the care of

<sup>5</sup> In *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie*, published by A. Vierkandt, Stuttgart 1931, p. 45 ff.

strange connection of such ideas with economic interest or the thought of technical achievement. We merely mention the motive that by taking care of the industrial climate one could foster the productivity and profitability of industry. This was the *third attitude*; the *humane-social*, which is of course still very prevalent today. But it has never really come face to face with the fellow-man, the fellow-worker; for it still sees him essentially as the *object* of the action and planning of the entrepreneur, and that is the false tendency of this attitude as seen from the standpoint of Christian anthropology and social ethics.

*Fourthly*, especially in German social and industrial history, the *feudal-military ideology of leadership* has had some influence (and still does have in the older generation). It should give us cause for fresh reflection that there is not and has never been in the Anglo-Saxon social units a combination of the function and attitude of the employer with this ideology, and I consider it fortunate for them; for as a result, in Anglo-Saxon countries the sharpening of the social conflict, like that in Germany, was quite impossible. The intrusion of military notions of command and obedience, of rank, etc., into industrial society is very dangerous. From a sociological viewpoint the powers of direction and leadership in the army and in the factory are relationships which are completely different from each other in structure and cannot be used in combination for protection nor be confused one with the other. Here, too, the freedom and independence of the working man as a co-worker is what makes the difference. This liberty did not exist in any case in the old German army, and it is well known that the chief socio-ethical problem of the new army is the question of what form it shall take in the future in the life of the soldier.

We come to the conclusion that the Christian social ethic must reject any mere restoration of these older attitudes of the employer. Precisely as Christians we must not desire to revert from the present situation in the spheres of social politics, labor laws and social ethics. These earlier attitudes can no longer genuinely be put into effect; we can no longer live them existentially, but can only preserve them artificially as false ideologies which are alien to reality. In relation to our fellow-man in industry they cannot be justified on a socio-ethical basis; this is true also for the non-Christians among us and for those who view the Christian faith with doubt.

To put it positively: we should and must assent to overcoming isolating economic or technological thought in every form, and must reject every claim of sole individual rule, whether in the state, the factory or in the economy as a whole. We must bring about an attitude on the part of the employer which is universal, human and concerned with the politics of society as a whole, which sees more than the interest of a factory, of a production group, or of a social stratum. We have to understand and establish ourselves as responsible trustees of the wholeness of society. The task of leadership within



the factory and the task of helping to mold the total economy are included in this highest of responsibilities.

We are faced with the tremendous task of integrating our society. Between the mere restoration of old forms and ideologies on the one hand and utopian revolutionism on the other, we must seek out the path to a *reformation* of society which does not stick fast in the patchwork of minute reforms. One of its decisive problems is the right combination of governing and freedom. This task can be taken up only if we have a Christian understanding of the situation where we have been placed, that is, if we understand it as an office entrusted to us, as our *vocation* given us by God, but which is to be proved in the fulfillment of service and in partnership with our co-workers if it is not to degenerate into reprehensible arrogance. A part of this is the will and the capacity continually to delegate responsibilities from above, in order to create confidence and to promote the qualities of responsible collaboration. We must appeal to a man's capacity for responsibility and set him as our fellow-worker in limited spheres of personal responsibility which are within his range. That is a significant, practical task which follows from the Christian recognition of the unity of governing and freedom.

It is not our view that all the earlier formulations of the Christian social ethic in the generations of our forefathers, from the Reformation to the leaders of the Christian social movement of the 19th century, have simply ceased to apply for us. We must converse with the inheritance which has come down to us from our fathers, and we can learn from this conversation. But we can converse honestly only by ruthlessly confronting this inheritance with the reality of present-day society. Only in this way can we prove the validity of the social ethic of our Lutheran fathers and at the same time give it a new form. We must throw the traditional forms of Christian social thought into the melting-pot of our radically changed society. Then, by the power of the truth of the Christian message new perceptions of man and society will blaze forth. The truth of the old socio-ethical forms and perceptions will be preserved in the new ones. In this connection we close with that prayer of Luther's which in an unsurpassably simple and beautiful way expresses the truth, which cannot be relinquished, of our relationship to the function of leadership and government:

"Grant that I may do with diligence my duty, to which thy command calls me in my station, grant me to do it promptly at the time appointed, and when I do it, grant that I may do it well."\*

\* „Gib, daß ich tu mit Fleiß, was mir zu tun gebühret,  
Wozu mich dein Befehl in meinem Stande führet,  
Gib, daß ich's tue bald, zu der Zeit, da ich soll,  
Und wenn ich's tu, so gib, daß es gerate wohl.“

## The Meaning of the Early Christian Confession of the Holiness of the Church

"I believe in the Holy Ghost, the *holy* catholic church, the communion of saints . . ."

"I believe in the Holy Ghost . . . one *holy*, catholic and apostolic church . . ."

What is the meaning of the holiness of the church proclaimed in the Apostles' and Nicene creeds? We shall now examine more closely two aspects of this question. Obviously the creeds are intended to sum up in brief formulations the same Christian faith which has been confessed and preached in various forms and more completely since the first days of the early church and which has found its most significant expression in the canonical writings of the New Testament. Therefore, to begin with, the meaning of the statement on the holiness of the church must be established by an examination, based on biblical theology, of the concepts "holy", "sanctify" etc. The final formulations found in the creeds presupposes both a previous history and a history of interpretation. Secondly, therefore, the latest results of research into the interpretation of these formulations must be the subjects of critical discussion; in this we shall have to concern ourselves above all with how the controversial words of the Apostles' creed, "the communion of saints", are rightly to be understood. With that we shall conclude our presentation. Accordingly we shall join only indirectly in the latest discussion on the holiness of the church. Nor shall we go into a problem which, viewed systematically, is closely related to this, the problem of the "visible" and "invisible" church. This and many other distinctions, which have played a large part in the discussion on the church of the last few decades and at the present time, are, seen from the point of view of the history of theology, of much later date than the symbols of the ancient church, and are not such as to throw more light on the question with which we intend to deal here.

### I

The statement of the creeds on the holiness of the church is found in the third article. The connection of belief in a holy church with the Holy Spirit—which is still more closely illustrated in the Nicene creed by the clauses "the Lord and Giver of life" and "who spake by the prophets"—reflects a fundamental New Testament perspective to which we should first of all like to call attention.



The first Christians saw in the growth of the church a consequence of the effective working of the Holy Spirit. When the Holy Spirit was poured out on the day of Pentecost—the day which has since been regarded as “the birthday of the church”—Peter stood up and said: “This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel: ‘And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh’” (Acts 2:16-17). When the New Testament speaks of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, it always assumes that Jesus is the Messiah upon whom the Holy Spirit rests and to whom the prophets bore witness. In Romans 15:12, Paul applies to Jesus the words concerning the rod out of the stem of Jesse, that is, Isaiah’s prophecy of the one who shall come and of whom it is said, “And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him . . .” (Isa. 11:2).

Everywhere in the New Testament we come upon statements about the Holy Spirit which testify to the same thing.<sup>1</sup> Again and again it is declared that the Spirit rests upon Jesus and his disciples, and that the Christian community partakes of this Spirit. The Holy Spirit is mentioned in connection with the very birth of Jesus. Matthew records that the angel of the Lord told Joseph that the child which Mary was to bear was “of the Holy Ghost” (Matt. 1:20). Luke records that the Holy Spirit descended upon Jesus when he was baptized in the Jordan (Luke 3:22). John the Baptist foretold that Jesus would baptize with the Holy Ghost (Matt. 3:11; Mark. 1:8; Luke 3:16). When Jesus took leave of his disciples, he promised them that the Father would send to them in his name the Holy Ghost, the Comforter (John 14:16). When Jesus showed himself to his disciples after his resurrection and sent them out into the world, he breathed on them and said, “Receive ye the Holy Ghost” (John 20:22). The Acts of the Apostles record how the apostles were baptized with the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost (Acts 1:5; 2:1 ff.), and that afterwards an ever increasing host of believers received the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:15 f.; 10:44). Peter, brought before the High Priest and the council, spoke of the “Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey him” (Acts 5:32). In that same book of the New Testament the building up and the growth of the church is expressly associated with the “comfort of the Holy Ghost” (Acts 9:31).

Thus the outpouring of the Holy Spirit is a prerequisite of the foundation and continued existence of the church. But the meaning of this association becomes clearer only when we analyze more closely what the Old and New Testaments say about what is holy and what holiness means. Hence our next task is to do this step by step.

Holiness is a quality which expresses the essential nature of God. “O God, thy way is in holiness”, sings the psalmist (Ps. 77:13). God it is who is holy in the real meaning of the word; he alone is the original source of this

1. Cf. for the following G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, article *αγιος*.

designation. We come upon this idea in both the Old and New Testaments. "There is none holy as the Lord", says Hannah in her song of praise (I Sam. 2:2). "For thou only art holy" is the song of Moses and of the Lamb, as the book of Revelation puts it (Rev. 15:4).

In a secondary sense, however, "holiness" is used as the designation of everything which belongs to God or is chosen by him. A few examples show that there are in the Bible traces, too, of a conception of holiness bounded by space and time. "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground," said God when he revealed himself to Moses in the burning bush (Ex. 3:5). Jerusalem, the city of God's sanctuary, was called "the holy city" (Matt. 4:5). The following is a clearly pronounced train of thought that not infrequently occurs in the Old Testament and completely dominates in the New Testament: Though holiness, in the real sense of the word, belongs to God alone, nevertheless it is also what God demands of his elect. "Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. 19:2; cf. also 11:44 and 20:26). "The Lord of hosts shall be exalted in judgment, and God that is holy shall be sanctified in righteousness" (Isa. 5:16). In the New Testament Paul takes these thoughts to their logical conclusion when he says that the law and commandment which proclaim the will of God are holy and just (cf. Rom. 7:12).

But when Paul in his Epistle to the Romans wrote of God's holy law, he was able to proclaim something new about holiness and righteousness which he did not know in the days when he was zealous for the law. He speaks of a new righteousness which has been revealed. Now that he has recognized God's gift of grace in Jesus Christ, he is not only ready to abandon his former view that salvation could be won only by living in accordance with the prescriptions of the law, but over and above that he dares to apply the word "holy" in a special sense to those who have not lived according to God's holy law. He speaks, in fact, of "them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints" (I Cor. 1:2).

Here we find ourselves at a decisive point in the New Testament teaching on God's holiness, a point which illuminates the confession of the holiness of the church. The New Testament tells us that God's holiness came to earth in human form. Peter acknowledged this in the name of all the disciples in the words; "Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we believe and are sure that thou art the Holy One of God ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ (John 6:68 f.). An unclean spirit also addresses Jesus with the words: "I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God" (Mark 1:24; cf. Luke 4:34). Jesus prays to God with the words "Holy Father" (John 17:11), but at the same time says that the Father has sent him (John 17:18) and he who has seen him has seen the Father who sent him (John 12:45; 14:9). But the idea that God's holiness has taken on human form among men is followed by a second, namely, that this holiness will be imparted to men. A sentence from Jesus' high-priestly prayer for his disciples



shows this important association: "For their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth" (John 17:19).

In this exposition we have sketched in some of the main lines of biblical theology, and it is now possible in summing up to formulate several theses. The church is holy, because God, who is in the truest sense holy, has sanctified in Christ, the Holy One of God, those whom he has called to be his disciples. The church, the company of the elect and holy, is therefore holy, because the Holy One of God is her foundation, and because the Holy Spirit, who rests upon Christ, is at work among the elect, building up the church, as the prophets foretold and Jesus himself promised during his earthly life.

Having laid down these theses, we must turn our attention, however, to the fact that the New Testament speaks of men as holy, or saints. We have to consider whether this use of language can really be interpreted as an actual expression of the ideas we have presented.

First of all, several examples from the New Testament. In Acts 9 we read of the "saints . . . at Jerusalem" (v. 13) and of "the saints which dwelt at Lydda" (v. 32). In the same chapter we find that in Joppa Peter called "the saints" to him (v. 41). The holiness which is spoken of here is quite obviously not a quality which is restricted to a small number of people known only to God. On the contrary, it is possible to meet the saints personally or to send them a message. Paul sends his letters to groups of saints living in various parts of the great Roman Empire. He can exhort those to whom he writes to "lift up holy hands" (I Tim. 2:8) or to greet one another "with an holy kiss" (Rom. 16:16; I Thess. 5:26). He mentions among others a group of women who have "washed the saints' feet" (I Tim. 5:10). What may seem perhaps most peculiar, however, is that statement about a certain group of saints which Paul makes in I Cor. 7, in which he offers counsel and instructions in regard to marriage. There he says that the children of a marriage in which only one partner is a believer are nevertheless holy, because the unbelieving partner is sanctified by the believing one (v. 14).

What is it that makes the believer holy? Wherein does his holiness consist? What are the marks of this holiness?

A text which can help us to answer these questions is Ephesians 1. Even the introductory words of greeting are significant here. Paul greets "the saints which are at Ephesus, and . . . the faithful in Christ Jesus" and praises the Father of Jesus Christ, who has chosen us "before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love" (1:1 and 1:4). Election by God is accordingly the basis of human holiness. In the ensuing verses (vv. 5-8) it becomes clear that reference to "the saints" is inseparably connected with the idea of Christ as the Holy One of God and of Christ's holiness which, as we saw above, is imparted to the elect. That holiness which characterizes those whom Paul calls "the saints" is the righteousness given by God, the gift of God the Father through the Son, Jesus Christ. Where Paul

sets forth the significance of this gift in greater detail he also speaks of the Holy Spirit. In Christ those who are called have received the Holy Ghost (Eph. 1:13). The Christian community, the *ecclesia*, is—as indeed the name indicates—the multitude of those who have been elected to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. That is the reason why each individual member of the Christian community and the community as a whole, the church, can be called holy.

We can now employ the results of our presentation so far to formulate a few negative theses, to establish what the holiness of the church does not mean. The Christian community is not holy in the sense that its members possess a more or less obvious moral perfection; it is not holy in the sense that “the saints” have reached a stage of relative sinlessness. We know that in the church at Corinth to which Paul wrote and which he nevertheless called “holy”, cases of immoral conduct had occurred. The words of greeting of the first Epistle to the Corinthians are addressed to “them which are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints” (1:2). Yet it is said of the same members of the church that they are still “carnal” (3:3). Paul declares that some of them are “puffed up” (4:18), that there has been fornication among them (5:1) and that members of the church go to law against one another before secular pagan courts (6:1). What can be gathered from all these statements is the recognition that holiness and sinlessness are not the same. It is extremely important to recognize that the early Christian congregations, as described in the New Testament, are by no means what have been imagined in later times as “pure” congregations, that is, congregations more or less unspotted by sin. We can make this even more pointed and declare that there is no biblical support for the doctrine that the church is founded upon a holiness which is equated in meaning with sinlessness. On the contrary, the New Testament shows that holiness is ultimately a gift of God, a gift which means participation in the forgiveness of sins and in fellowship with the Son of God.

What has been said has far-reaching consequences for the many problems connected with a question which is closely related to the concept of the holiness of the church, the question of church discipline. But before we can turn to this problem, we must consider a second aspect of the question of the holiness of the believer. The conception of holiness as a gift of God must be linked with another conception, which we find in both the Old and New Testaments: of holiness as a task which the elect have to fulfill.

It is important to emphasize the fact that the New Testament does not in the least minimize the demand for holiness by teaching that holiness is God's gift in Christ. “Be ye holy, for I am holy.” This commandment from Leviticus is quoted word for word in the first Epistle of Peter (1:16). If we were to put the New Testament meaning of this commandment into a simple formula, we could say that it demands that the gift of holiness given to the church in Christ be preserved. In the last pages of the Bible is the injunction that he who is holy should continue to be holy (Rev. 22:11). The holy life which the elect are to lead



means conduct worthy of the vocation they have received (Eph. 4:1), worthy of the Gospel of Christ (Phil. 1:27), worthy of the Lord (Col. 1:10). The elect in Christ are, as Paul expressed it, "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God" (Eph. 2:19). They are—if the import of these words is taken really seriously—called to lead a life without sin. What God demands when he calls people to holiness can in fact be nothing less than this. The idea that a life worthy of the Gospel of Christ must be a life without sin finds its clearest expression in the first Epistle of John (cf. the descriptions in ch. 3:5-10).

The new life in Christ need not, however, be described only in negative terms, as if it were nothing but freedom from sin. It is quite possible to put down also its positive content. This occurs for example in Ephesians, where we find the phrase "the perfecting of the saints, the work of the ministry, the edifying of the body of Christ" (Eph. 4:12). It is an extremely impressive image which Paul uses here. The body of Christ, which was nailed to the cross of Calvary, which was delivered up to death, is now to be built up by those belonging to the community of Christ. Paul also gives expression to this idea in defining Christians as members of the body of Christ (I Cor. 12:27). Or again, he uses another image, saying that all the members shall grow in love, grow up into him who is the head, Christ himself (Eph. 4:15).

The images which Paul uses, and which we have here recalled, declare unequivocally the positive significance of the call to holiness. But they also connect equally plainly gift and responsibility\*, and not only in such a way that the gift gives the responsibility, but also so that the fulfillment of the responsibility constantly points back to the gift. The context in which the biblical passage just quoted occurs is here particularly significant. For the description of the responsibility is followed by a reference to Christ as the "head", "from whom the whole body, joined and knit together by every joint with which it is supplied, when each part is working properly, makes bodily growth and upbuilds itself in love" (Eph. 4:16 RSV). This verse contains important theological ideas. There is first that thought which formed our starting-point, namely that everything is founded on Christ, that all our holiness—including growth in the Christian life of love of one's neighbor—has its roots in him. Secondly, we find the idea that the life in deeds of love of one's neighbor is for the Christian here on earth the positive meaning of God's demand for holiness. Thirdly—and here we take up the series of problems connected with the concept of "church discipline"—the verse seems also to indicate that every member of the church of Christ is called once and for all to the life in love. At least the image of the head and the members of the body points in this direction. That individual members of the body could detach themselves completely from the others is unthinkable. The only interpretation of which the image admits is the

\* Translator's note: The German terms *Gabe* and *Aufgabe* express a relationship to one another which cannot be conveyed in English equivalents.

one which Paul himself gave it in another connection: if one member suffers, all the members suffer; and when one member is honored, all the members rejoice (I Cor. 12:26). We may be unjustified in drawing from this all too far-reaching conclusions in regard to church discipline. Yet so much seems clear: that the congregation or members of it are not justified in pronouncing judgments of condemnation upon other, weaker or more sinful members, but that on the contrary they are required to help the weaker members in love. If someone has sinned against his fellowman and refuses to acknowledge and to atone for this sin, which is an obstacle in the path of all true fellowship, he is, according to Matt. 18:15-18—and doubtless also according to the somewhat obscure words of I Cor. 5:5—to be excluded from actual fellowship. Exclusion on principle from the church, however, is something different. Not even the difficult passage about the "sin unto death" (I John 5:16) may be interpreted in this direction. The decisive factor in the question of church discipline and its significance must be the general biblical point of view that Christ, the Holy One of God, is also the basis of human holiness, of its beginning as well as of its growth and perfection. Everyone who is called is "holy" in Christ and is to "sanctify himself" (cf. Rev. 22:11). The congregation has in addition to exercise care for each of its members, a care which gives expression to love, but which in a particular situation can also lead to the fact that judgment is passed on a man who has committed a misdeed, so "that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (I Cor. 5:5).<sup>2</sup>

In summing up it can be said that the picture which the New Testament gives of the holiness of the church is by and large unambiguous. The holiness of the church is experienced as a reality because the Holy One of God has come and because the Holy Spirit is at work in the multitude of the elect and the "saints". It can be added that confessing the holiness of the church

2. Of decisive importance for the interpretation of the passages in the New Testament which deal in one form or another with church discipline are systematic theological reflections in regard to the reality of Christ and the meaning of Christ's act of redemption. Matt. 18:15-17 should be read in the light of the fact that Jesus himself says that he is sent not to the righteous but to the sinners, and that he commissions his disciples to proclaim his power to all people and to exhort them to keep his commandments. An attempt to interpret the passage in this way is found in "Kirchenzucht" (church discipline), by Bernhard Heppé, in: *Aus Theologie und Kirche, Beiträge zur Evangelischen Theologie*, Bd. 6, 1941, p. 26 f. "The accent is wholly on Jesus' new pastoral understanding of the ban as judgment, the most important thing being to win the brother. . . . Even ἐξωτι σοι ὡσπερ ο ἰδὺλος καὶ ο τέλειος was related in practice only to separation from worship and ritual, while personally one was not to lose sight of the person under the ban." Heppé rightly points out (p. 28 f.) that the verb δέλυ (to bind) in Matt. 16 and 18 is followed by λύω (to loose) and comes therefore to the conclusion that "the ultimate aim is to be able to loose" the offender under the ban. A quite different interpretation is given by Rudolf Bohren, *Das Problem der Kirchenzucht im Neuen Testament*, (The Problem of Church Discipline in the New Testament), 1952. It is based on Zwinglian ideas of a pure, that is, sinless, congregation.

For the obscure passage in I Cor. 5:5, cf. Hugo Odeberg's book *Korintierbrevet* (Tolkning av Nya Testament 7), 1944, p. 105 ff. Odeberg rightly affirms that one can read into Paul's words not only the call to holiness but also care for the individual sinner.

Otto Bauernfeind, in his essay, "Die Fürbitte angesichts der 'Sünde zum Tode'" (Intercession in view of the mortal sin) in *Von der Antike zum Christentum*, Victor Schulze zu Ehren, 1951, has sought to give an interpretation of I John 5:16, which does not relate this passage directly to church discipline. Bauernfeind believes that the emphasis here is on a special form of prayer which presupposes direct inspiration. "John would-tacitly, of course, but in the certainty that he would be understood—leave open the possibility of intercession effected by the Spirit in view of the sin unto death. . . . John avoids the use of persuasion. . . . above all because this prayer must be left to the pure impulse of the Spirit." (p. 51). Bauernfeind finds here that I John 5:16 corresponds to certain texts from Jeremiah (7:16; 11:14; 14:11), even though in John there is no direct mention of a prohibition. The parallels lie in the fact that on both occasions intercession for serious sins worthy of death is most closely linked with a direct divine injunction; such prayer can be made only "when what is human withdraws completely behind divine inspiration. . . ." (p. 52 f.).



means taking hold by faith of the promise of Christ of unceasing sanctification. The application of a number of Old Testament prophecies enables us to say that "the holy people" (Isa. 62:12) has come into being because God has forged a new way—to be called "the way of holiness" (Isa. 35:8)—which is now open for realizing full fellowship with God.

## II

In connection with our examination in the area of biblical theology we should perhaps consider that related subject-matter which is presupposed in the confession of the holiness of the church and upon which such a confession is based. The connection between the belief in the Holy Ghost and the confession of the holiness of the church is undoubtedly to be sought in the traditional proclamation according to which Christ promised to send the Holy Spirit and the church took form in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit over the apostles on the first Pentecost, and in the proclamation of the unceasing working of the Holy Spirit in the church of Christ. The confession of the Holy Spirit, as contained in the Nicene creed, contains in short form the more comprehensive understanding of the holiness of God which we have presented above.

An important question still remaining to be considered is posed by the formulation in the Apostles' creed, "the communion of saints". What is the meaning of these words which are in Latin "sanctorum communio(nem)"?

The usual interpretation is undoubtedly "the fellowship of the saints". According to this, the meaning is that "the saints" constitute the church, or at least that the nature of the church can be described as the fellowship of these saints. Numerous theologians have, without much hesitation, derived the genitive "sanctorum" from the nominative form "sancti". Patristic research lends a certain support to this interpretation, and individual investigators in this field defend it as the most acceptable interpretation.<sup>3</sup> Here too appeal can be made to the terminology of the New Testament, which designates the called and elect as "the saints". Of course, we have seen that the holiness which is meant here represents a gift of Christ, and is not primarily a product of human activity or a holiness in the sense of an ethical quality. Here once more we could come near to opening the question of church discipline, for during the first centuries the problem of "mortal sins", the possibility of making atonement once or repeatedly, and the possibility of exclusion from the congregation, was of not inconsiderable importance.

Nevertheless there are decisive arguments against this interpretation. They are the following.<sup>4</sup> Firstly, the general character of the creed points in another direction. Each part of the creed seems to point to an important fact which is

3. See e.g. *Early Christian Creeds*, by J. N. D. Kelly, 1950, p. 388 ff; cf. especially the concluding judgment on p. 394.

4. For the following, cf. *The History of the Creeds*, by F. J. Badcock, 1930, pp. 213-241, and *Abendmahl und Kirchengemeinschaft in der alten Kirche hauptsächlich des Ostens*, (Communion and Church Fellowship in the Early Church, particularly in the East) by Werner Elert, 1954, especially pp. 5-22 and 166-181. Documentation and additional bibliography are to be found in these works.

significant in the history of salvation and in the actual reality of redemption. If the words "sanctorum communionem" are understood solely as the equivalent of "sanctam ecclesiam" this structure is shattered. Even if the original New Testament meaning of the word "holy" is able to make itself heard in the interpretation of "the communion of saints", it is nevertheless a formulation which leaves the door wide open for an understanding of the church such as, for example, the Novatians advocated, and which is inconceivable within the main stream of the early church. Numerous examples from textual history show meanwhile—and this is a second argument—that the formulation "sanctorum communio" has been very widely understood as an independent part. The occurrence of parallel texts, in which statements about the remission of sins ("remissionem peccatorum", "abremissa peccatorum") have been interpolated between the words "sanctorum communionem" and "sanctam ecclesiam", admits of no denial of this thesis. Therefore from a linguistic point of view it is absurd to understand "sanctorum communionem" as being equivalent to "sanctam ecclesiam".<sup>5</sup>

The third and decisive argument, however, is the outcome of the latest research, which has produced fully substantiated proof of the validity of an old theory which connects the words "sanctorum communionem" with the Lord's Supper. "Sanctorum" can in fact be a partitive genitive of the neuter plural "sancta", and there are important arguments in favor of this interpretation. Werner Elert, among others, convincingly demonstrated that all the evidence suggests that Asia Minor is the place of origin of the formulation, and that this formulation derives from the Greek and not from the Latin. Thanks to the latest research we know further that a liturgical formula used at the Lord's Supper in the Eastern church contains a plural—or rather dual—form of such a kind: when the Communion is administered, the words τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις ("holy things to the holy") are used. Further, it is clear that the Greek formula ἡ κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων which corresponds to the Latin "sanctorum communio" alludes to one of the most important New Testament texts on the Lord's Supper. For in I Cor. 10:16 the word κοινωνία is likewise followed by a partitive genitive construction ("fellowship of the blood of Christ"—"fellowship of the body of Christ"). Examination of the use of language in the New Testament and in the first centuries shows moreover that such a partitive genitive construction is usual with regard to concrete objects, whereas there are only a few examples to show that the words "the communion of saints" or similar expressions are construed without a preposition in Latin or Greek. We can moreover refer to some early texts, though they are few in number, in which the expression "sanctorum communionem" is directly related to the Lord's Supper.<sup>6</sup>

From these facts of the case it follows obviously that those who understand "sanctorum" as the genitive of "sancta" have at their command considerably

5. Cf. F. J. Badcock, *op. cit.* p. 218 ff.

6. Cf. *ibid.* p. 222 ff; W. Elert, *op. cit.* p. 166 ff.



more powerful arguments than those who cleave to the personal interpretation. But is the choice which has here been generally taken for granted really necessary in principle? Doubtless it appears so at first sight. But if one takes as one's starting-point an interpretation which connects the formula with the Lord's Supper, I see no cogent reason why an either-or should be decreed here. The well-known communion formula of the Eastern church τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις preserves through its dative object the connection with the New Testament understanding of the "saints". In spite of the practice of church discipline, there is, even in the Eastern church,—which may or may not have its own peculiar character in comparison with the churches of the West—no cause to regard these "saints" in a moralistic way. Here it may suffice to refer to the response in the so-called Clementine liturgy which the congregation makes to the bishop president, in replying to his call "holy things to the holy" with the words: "One alone is holy". There is no doubt that in this communion liturgy an essential part of New Testament theology is expressed. The body and blood of Christ are administered not to everyone, but only to the "saints"; but these, who receive the body and blood of Christ through the sacrament, confess immediately that their own holiness has its source exclusively in the holiness of God and God's Holy One.<sup>7</sup>

This background, it seems to me, permits the assertion that the personal interpretation is a part of the sacramental one and can be combined with it. The holiness of the "saints" too, points in this case to Christ as the source of the new life. If in interpreting the words "sanctorum communionem" one is directed by the sources to the communion liturgy of the Eastern church, it seems to me clear that both the personal and the objective interpretation are justified; both groups of concepts, which have the same reality as their aim, are here brought into play.

We come therefore to the conclusion that the formula "communionem sanctorum" is an independent part of the creed, alongside "remissionem peccatorum" and the subsequent expressions, and that it is by no means merely in apposition or an explanatory addition to "sanctam ecclesiam". On the other hand our argument has also brought us to a point where a clear connection can be observed. The holiness of the church implies, as we have seen above, confession of the reality of the redemption which has been wrought by Jesus Christ as the Holy One of God, and to the continuing redemptive activity of the Holy Spirit. The subsequent independent parts of the creed give expression, under various aspects, to what is contained in this reality and this event. In the formula "communio sanctorum" we hear a mixed choir confessing participation in Christ as the foundation of all holiness, because he sanctified himself in giving himself as a sacrifice for his own, who were thus sanctified through him.

7. Cf. e.g. G. Rietschl, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, (Liturgical textbook), revised edition by Paul Graff, 1951, p. 236 ff. esp. p. 245.

## Principal Systematic Problems of Present-Day Scandinavian Theology<sup>1</sup>

When entering the field of Scandinavian theology a person finds himself in the area of the Lutheran church as it has existed in Scandinavia (including Denmark) since the Reformation in the form of a church governed, with a few later modifications, by the ruler. More than 95 % of the Scandinavian peoples belong to the Lutheran national church, and the theological faculties of these countries serve as a whole to train a clergy that in its ministry is bound to the Lutheran confession. That does not mean, however, that the theology which is pursued and expounded from the official professorial chairs represents in the same sense a unified whole. The existence of the Free Faculty of Theology of the Church of Norway in Oslo, which was founded almost 50 years ago as a measure to counter the liberal theology which at that time was gaining ground even in the Nordic countries, is already in itself an eloquent testimony against such uniformity.

However, apart from the traditional contrasts in general neo-Protestant development, a particular set of indigenous problems has developed in Scandinavia. Here we shall be concerned primarily with some special questions of Scandinavian theology which have thus arisen in the field of systematics or in close connection with problems in this field. Systematic theology in Scandinavia today is everywhere divided into two special spheres: dogmatics on the one hand, and ethics and the philosophy of religion on the other. At the same time, it is quite obvious that the problems of this theology, in spite of all the individuality of its accomplishments, indicate at every point elements which are to be traced to the general problems of continental theology and which become comprehensible in their full range only from this point of view. For the sake of a general survey we shall find it worthwhile in the first place to divide the set of problems we have chosen according to countries, in the course of which they will continually overlap. Of course, it will not be possible to deal here with more than a selection, sketched in under certain principal aspects, and so far as the representatives of systematics are concerned, we shall have to restrict ourselves chiefly to the theological faculties.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Guest lectures delivered at the Universities of Erlangen and Tübingen and at the Kirchliche Hochschulen in Wuppertal-Barmen and Bethel-Bielefeld, Germany, in the first half of December, 1955. Here somewhat revised.

<sup>2</sup> For background compare some of the articles in *Ekklesia*, edited by Fr. Siegmund Schulze, Gotha: 1935-36 and Leipzig: 1937, Vol. II: *The Scandinavian Countries*, No. 5-7. There are good references here to Scandinavian works up to that date.



## I

We shall begin with Swedish theology, which without doubt can be considered to have been for a long time the most independent within Scandinavian theology. This independence is clearly indicated by the remarkable fact that in Sweden not a single pupil of Karl Barth and not one competent representative of the so-called dialectical theology has emerged. The gap which the sphere of influence of this continental "theology of crisis" here exhibited from the outset depends by all appearances on the fact that Swedish theology, and especially the theology of Lund, represents in itself a movement similar to that of Barth and the theology instituted by him, that is, a movement counter to neo-Protestant liberalism. Moreover, in both cases it was chiefly not so much a matter of the reawakening of confessional consciousness as of a more or less radical revaluation of the problems of the 19th century arising from the influence of Schleiermacher; revaluation in the sense of a "theocentric theology" such as Erich Schaeder had already maintained.

The really epoch-making figure of Lundensian theology, *Anders Nygren*, the present bishop of Lund, became known in the 'thirties even outside the Nordic lands as a pioneer systematician through his great work on the history of Christian ideas of love, *Agape and Eros*.<sup>3</sup> Because they have not been translated into any foreign language, his works dating from the early 'twenties are less well-known; in these he set himself as a goal the laying of a "scientific foundation of dogmatics, with special consideration of the questions raised by Kant and Schleiermacher", as was said at the time in a programmatic formulation of a title.<sup>4</sup>

In this method Nygren followed a path quite different from that of Barth, in that he turned his attention to the history of Christian thought, while Barth developed a Protestant scholasticism. What nevertheless connects him with Barth is first of all the fact that he like Barth admits the self-contained immanence of human existence as a self-evident hypothesis. Barth transcends this immanence with a non-objective divine revelation, and then bridges over the distance which there prevails between God and man by presenting humanity as a "figure" for the deity who in Christ is both veiled and revealed. Nygren on the other hand begins with religion as an immanent fundamental phenomenon of humanity, and then paradoxically sketches out a theology of the divine *agape*, which repudiates human *eros* precisely in its religious, spiritualized form, as something contrary to God.

If the one seems to conclude with a distance similar to that from which the other started, it will nevertheless be understood how, in spite of all the disparity which prevails here, Nygren was able in his field to usher in an epoch similar

3. A. Nygren, *Den kristna kärlekstanken genom tiderna*, Stockholm: 1930-36, Vols. I-II; German edition: *Eros und Agape*, Gütersloh: 1930-37, Vols. I-II; English edition: *Agape and Eros*, London: 1932-38, Vols. I-II; reprint: Philadelphia: Westminster Press: 1953.

4. A. Nygren, *Dogmatikens vetenskapliga grundläggning med särskild hänsyn till den Kant-Schleiermacherska problemställningen* (Lunds univ's årsskrift, New Series, Section I, Vol. 17, No. 8) Lund: 1922. Cf. *Det religionsfilosofiska grundproblemet* and *Religiöst apriori*, both 1921, and in addition in German: *Die Gültigkeit der religiösen Erfahrung*, (Stud. des apologetischen Seminars in Wernigerode, No. 8), 1922.

to that introduced by Barth on the continent. The program formulated by Nygren was also developed for a time in an impressive way by his fellow-workers and pupils at Lund, principally by the somewhat older dogmatician *Gustaf Aulén*<sup>5</sup> and his successor *Ragnar Bring*.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, Nygren's successor in the chair of theological ethics, *Gustaf Wingren*, in his work, the *Question of Method in Theology*, has submitted that same program to a penetrating criticism, which appears to be the herald of a change in theological generations.<sup>7</sup> The principal attack here is directed at Nygren's critical foundation of dogmatics, according to which the transcendental category of religion is supposed to consist in the "question" concerning the eternal, or fellowship with God, which is devoid of content, but for which an answer is to be sought in the history of religion, or, more especially, in the historically active "basic motif" of Christianity. Whereas Nygren, by this separation of form and content, maintains that this method has freed the program of his teacher Schleiermacher from every stifling philosophical metaphysic, Wingren sees in it only an anthropological guardianship of theology, that is all the more dangerous because in this way it lets its task be determined by a transcendental philosophical orientation.<sup>8</sup>

Wingren takes up in this point the criticism raised earlier against Nygren by the Danish systematicians Løgstrup and Prenter, according to which such a program inexplicitly employs a concept of religion which involves it in the culture and philosophy of the time, and basically does not allow Christianity to be a divine message but rather a product of the human spirit in the sense of transcendental philosophy.<sup>9</sup> This criticism can also point to the fact that Nygren seeks to limit the category of truth to scientific theory, whereas to religion and ethics, as also to art, are applied special non-theoretical categories of "validity". While the Uppsala philosopher Ingemar Hedenius perceives in this effort a virtual apologetic "swindle",<sup>10</sup> the dogmatician in Uppsala, Hjalmar Lindroth, well known as a Schleiermacher scholar, holds that Nygren has as a critic by no means improved on the criticism of the German theologians he recognizes as

5 Cf. G. Aulén, *Spaningstjänst*, Stockholm: 1939, in which mentioned his first compelling encounter with the young Nygren, p. 182 f. Aulén is in fact aware of himself as the representative of an incipient "third important period in the history of evangelical theology" which is linked with Luther, and he traces the origin of this period to Uppsala, p. 163; cf. also *Die Dogmengeschichte im Lichte der Lutherforschung*, (Stud. der Lutherakademie, No. 1) Gütersloh: 1932, p. 38 ff.; in addition: *Das christliche Gottesbild*, Gütersloh: 1930. His principal works are *Den allmänliga kristna tron* (dogmatics) 4th edition, Stockholm: 1943 (*The Faith of the Christian Church*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1948) and *Dogmhistoria*, 4th edition, Stockholm: 1946. Newly published is *För eder utgiven. En bok om nattvardens offermotiv*, Stockholm: 1956.

6 R. Bring, *Till frågan om den systematiska teologiens uppgift* (Lunds univ's Årsskrift, New Series, Section I, Vol. 29, No. 1), Lund: 1937; *Teologi och religion*, Lund: 1937. Cf. also *Dualismen hos Luther*, Stockholm: 1929, and in a German edition: *Das Verhältnis von Glauben und Werken in der lutherischen Theologie*, (Forsch. z. Gesch. u. Lehre des Protestantismus, Series 10, Vol. 7) Munich: 1955.

7 G. Wingren, *Teologiens metodfråga*, Lund: 1954; German edition in preparation; cf. also in German: *Luthers Lehre vom Beruf* (Forsch. z. Gesch. u. Lehre des Protestantismus, Series 10, Vol. 2) Munich: 1952; *Die Predigt*, Göttingen: 1955.

8 Cf. the introductory expositions of both men at a "conversation on religion" in Lund on February 7th, 1956, printed in *Svensk teol. Kvartalskr.* 1956, No. 1.

9 Cf. the work by Løgstrup, 1942, (Note 30), in which a criticism of Nygren is implied (p. 72, Note 1, and more particularly p. 83 ff) likewise R. Prenter, *Skabelse og genløsning*, 1st edition, Copenhagen: 1951-53, p. 31 ff.

10 I. Hedenius, *Tro och vetande*, Stockholm: 1949, p. 183; more particularly p. 163 ff. and p. 218 ff., according to which, in the question of truth, Nygren and Bring are regarded if not precisely as "atheists" at least as agnostics.



authorities but, on the contrary, he has misunderstood the true significance of the separation of form and content.<sup>11</sup>

What lies at the base of these very different judgments is the observation, correct in itself, that Nygren has modified the criticism of the philosophy of religion in the sense of a neo-Kantian transcendental philosophy. His critics, however, appear to have overlooked the most important factor, that Nygren has nevertheless endeavored so to determine the transcendental category of religion in its theological realization that the result is not a mere empty form but at the same time a standard with content for the evaluation of the history of religion and of dogma. Like Schleiermacher's concept of the "absolute feeling of dependence", so also Nygren's category of "eternity", even though as a philosopher of religion he has not expressly admitted it, is not only a formal category but at the same time a normative ideal concept of religion. When for example this category of Nygren's is described as a category of "fellowship with God", it follows from this perspective that the historical manifestations of religion, actually even less than is the case with Schleiermacher, are considered to be basically equivalent answers to the same formal question, as Nygren's criticism in itself appears to demand.

That this is so is especially apparent from the programmatic collection of essays from the early 'thirties entitled *Primitive Christianity and Reformation*, in which Nygren works with two "basic types" of religion, the theocentric and the egocentric types. Here he speaks expressly about the "theocentric tendency of religion" which broke through in primitive Christianity and then in Luther. When he describes this break-through of a tendency inherent in religion as a "Copernican revolution" which is much more comparable to the achievement of Copernicus than to the epistemological subjektivism of Kant, he quite obviously presupposes that every egocentric religion fails to appreciate the true meaning of fellowship with God.<sup>12</sup> That at this point the transcendental philosopher is no longer speaking, but rather the theologically prejudiced analyst of religion, is obvious, for from this point of view Christianity, especially in its biblical and Reformation character, appears as the only true religion. Only in this way will one be able to understand that in relation to the one-sidedness of Nygren's principal work in the history of dogma one can speak of "his grim struggle for *agape* against *eros*" (Barth).<sup>13</sup> At any rate it must not be overlooked that at the very center of Nygren's "motif" analysis there stand primarily Paul and Luther; the apostle as the chief biblical witness to divine love realized in Christ, the reformer as the genuine expositor of this biblical witness and thus as the incomparable spokesman of a truly theocentric Gospel. Nygren has taken up the language of Lutheranism in a way which

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Lindroth in *Nordisk teologi*, publication in honor of Bring, Lund: 1955, p. 169 ff.

<sup>12</sup> A. Nygren *Urkrystendom och reformation*, Lund: 1932, p. 116 ff. Of this collection the following essays are available in German: "Egoismus und Religion" in *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*, Vol. 7, p. 312 ff; "Synthese oder Reformation", *ibid.* Vol. 11, p. 126 ff; "Die kopernikanische Umwälzung Luthers" in *Zeitwende*, Vol. 6, p. 357 ff.

<sup>13</sup> K. Barth, *Die kirchliche Dogmatik*, Vol. IV, 2, Zollikon-Zürich: 1955, p. 902.

means that his emergence as a leading man in world Lutheranism is not a mere coincidence. Even Catholic scholars today appear to be influenced by his interpretation of biblical *agape*, so that it is possible that we may see a new discussion between the confessions on the message of the Bible.<sup>14</sup>

What helped to make Nygren and Barth effective to an epoch-making degree, each in his area and in his own way, was the peculiar circumstance that it fell to them—more despite than as a result of their religious philosophical presuppositions—to call back their perplexed contemporaries to the real theme of theology, though in a manner temporally conditioned. Seen from the Lutheran understanding of law and Gospel, it is apparent in both cases that not everything is achieved by the most radical theocentric or even christocentric motif, when it comes to really liberating theology from the neo-Protestant confusion of the Gospel with a unilinear “essence of Christianity”. Viewing the situation as a whole, one will not be able, despite the heritage of Schleiermacher which has had its effect on Nygren, to maintain that he knows Christianity only as the vehicle of a basic “motif” and not as a divine message. The kerygmatic character of Christianity has actually emerged in Nygren’s theology more and more strongly in the course of time, and when one takes into consideration his latest writings, for example his exposition of Romans, or his *Pastoral Letter* at the time of his assumption of the episcopal office, and his recent study on *Christ and His Church*,<sup>15</sup> then one will have to admit that the *sola gratia* and *sola fide* of the Reformation sound forth in a way that cannot fail to be heard.

The theology of Uppsala was less influenced by liberalism around the turn of the century than was that of Lund, and since the time of Söderblom a new Uppsala theology has developed which, following the precedent of Einar Billing, has made Luther research its primary systematic concern. This line of development continued through Arvid Runestam and later particularly through Sigfrid von Engeström,<sup>16</sup> a representative of ethics, down to his present successor Herbert Olsson.<sup>17</sup> Also the dogmatician, Hjalmar Lindroth, has concerned himself with Luther in one of his works on the doctrine of the atonement, and in this point he takes up the typology which Aulén had evolved for the history of dogma, whereby Luther is considered to have revived the “classical” doctrine of the atonement of the ancient eastern church.<sup>18</sup> In Lindroth’s treatment can be

14 Cf. G. Söhngen’s observation in *Die Einheit in der Theologie*, p. 303, Munich: 1952: “The Christian *agape* is something essentially different from platonic *eros*”. Further details in V. Warnach’s *Agape. Die Liebe als Grundmotiv (I) der neuteamentlichen Theologie*, Düsseldorf: 1951, especially p. 456 ff.

15 A. Nygren, German edition: *Der Römerbrief*, 2nd. edition, Göttingen: 1954; *Das lebendige Wort Gottes, Eine Laiendogmatik als Hirtenbrief*, Stuttgart: 1952; *Christus und seine Kirche*, Göttingen: 1955. In English there is *Gospel of God*, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1951; also a contribution to *This is the Church*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1952, and lately, *Christ and His Church*, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956.

16 S. von Engeström, *Luthers trosbegrepp*, (Uppsala univ’s arsskrift, 1933, Section “Teologi” No. 1; *Förelsestanken hos Luther och i nyare svensk teologi*, Stockholm: 1938; cf. also *Tro och realism*, Stockholm: 1935; *De två vägarna*, Stockholm: 1936; *Katolicismen i nutiden*, Stockholm: 1941.

17 H. Olsson, *Grundproblemet i Luthers socialetik*, Lund: 1934; *Calvin och reformationens teologi* (Acta Univ. Lund, New Series, Section I, Vol. 40, No. 1), Lund: 1944.

18 G. Aulén, *Den kristna försoningstanken*, Stockholm: 1930; cf. extract in German: “Drei Haupttypen des christlichen Versöhnungsgedankens”, in *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*, Vol. 8, p. 301 ff. The same understanding of atonement is found in A. Nygren, cf. German edition: *Die Versöhnung als Gottestat*, (Stud. d. Lutherakademie, No. 5), Gütersloh: 1932.



seen the customary antithesis between Luther and Melanchthon, according to which Luther's view of the atonement is supposed to be that Christ in the name of God is victorious over the powers of corruption, and is not a *satisfactio vicaria* which is the "Latin" doctrinal type found in Melanchthon and Lutheran orthodoxy which followed him.<sup>19</sup> Following the precedent of Engeström, younger scholars from Uppsala,<sup>20</sup> joined by Finnish systematicians,<sup>21</sup> have raised objection to such an interpretation of Luther and the misunderstanding of the orthodox doctrine of the atonement which is tied up with it.

In other respects Uppsala has seen a significant exegetical reorientation, in the sense of a "realistic" interpretation of the Scriptures introduced by the Norwegian-born New Testament scholar *Anton Fridrichsen* (d. 1953), which is now making itself felt also in the systematic field. In the Uppsala theology this is closely connected with a new understanding of the church as the body of Christ, which has been coming into its own in the last few decades in Swedish theology as a whole.<sup>22</sup> A few important symposia on the question of the church and the ministry and on the Bible have grown out of these endeavors;<sup>23</sup> this also witnesses to a remarkable revival of churchmanship among the younger clergy. In contrast to a peculiar biblical revival which is under the direction of the Lundensian New Testament scholar *Hugo Odeberg*, the revival in Uppsala has to some extent taken on a pronounced high church character. We shall return to questions related to this in connection with Norwegian theology, because we shall consider somewhat more closely the problem of the church at that point.

## II

We shall now turn to Danish theology. We find here a series of problems quite different from those in Sweden. This is connected with the fact that the Danish church, for a period now of about one hundred years, has increasingly taken on the character of so-called ecclesiastical "directions" or tendencies, which have also to a large extent theologically molded, so to speak, the spiritual climate of Denmark down to the present day. The oldest of these tendencies is called the "church Center" because it forms a conservative ecclesiastical middle path which after the tide of rationalism represented a moderate confessional Lutheranism on the German pattern, known in Germany through the

<sup>19</sup> Hj. Lindroth, *Försoningen* (Uppsala univ's årsskrift, 1935, No. 8) where, rather as Bring does in his first study of Luther (see Note 6 above), he connects the forces of destruction with the wrath of God, without, however, accepting the idea of Christ acting upon God which Luther defended. Cf. other important works: *Schleiermachers religionsbegrepp*, Vol. I-II (ibid. 1926 and 1930, Section "Teologi", No. 1); *Katolsk och evangelisk kristendomssyn*, (ibid. 1933, Section "Teologi", No. 4); also *Lutherrenässansen i nyare svensk teologi*, Stockholm: 1941.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Arv. Sjöstrand, *Satisfactio Christi*, Stockholm: 1937, p. 89 ff. and p. 461 ff; likewise R. Josefson, *Bibelns auktoritet*, Stockholm: 1953, p. 74 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. L. Pinomaa, *Der Zorn Gottes in der Theologie Luthers* (Annales acad. scient. Fenn., Series B, Vol. 41, No. 1), Helsinki: 1938; likewise O. Tiilikä, *Das Strafleiden Christi*, (ibid., Series B, Vol. 48, No. 1), Helsinki: 1941.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Ake V. Ström, *Kyrkoproblemet*, Lund: 1943; likewise for background and present situation, G. Aulén, *Hundra års svensk kyrkdebatt*, Stockholm: 1953.

<sup>23</sup> *En bok om kyrkan, av svenska teologer*, Stockholm: 1943; *En bok om Bibeln* (Bring, Fridrichsen, Lindroth, O. Linton, Nygren, E. Sjöberg), Lund: 1947; *En bok om kyrkans ämbete*, edited by Hj. Lindroth, Stockholm: 1951. Cf. in German: *Ein Buch von der Kirche* by G. Aulén and other Swedish theologians, Göttingen: 1951; and in English, *This is the Church*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press.

publication for example of Martensen's dogmatics. In addition to the Center, however, there are two other important tendencies or movements, Grundtvigianism and that of the so-called inner mission, which without playing a similar role in academic theology has nevertheless retained some influence to the present day in the ranks of recognized theologians. These two arose out of the great awakenings of the 19th century which have helped to form the so-called folk church to a much greater extent in Denmark than in Sweden.

The first of these Danish revival movements is to be traced to the unique figure of the great religious poet and popular prophet, *Grundtvig*, who was related to German romanticism and who after a profound religious crisis became the highly gifted spokesman of those circles who after the Napoleonic wars sought a deepening of the inner life of the traditional Christian heritage on a national basis.<sup>24</sup> Because of this, Grundtvigianism has had a peculiarly dual effect, by furthering and demanding on the one hand a general modification of the structure of the state church in the sense of democratic liberalism, and on the other hand, through one-sided emphasis on the sacramental character of Christianity, by developing relatively high church inclinations. From these two tendencies moreover, certain "broad church" inferences have been drawn from which the inner mission, as a kind of free church movement within the church, has quite dissociated itself. The inner mission has emphasized personal conversion, as German pietism did, without nevertheless neglecting the sacraments. Both ecclesiastically and theologically this movement has always remained more traditionally conservative than Grundtvigianism.

Danish theology especially has been largely sustained down to today, as far as systematic theology concerned, by the conservative attitude of the Center. Whereas Martensen was something of a Hegelian, *P. Madsen*, about the turn of the century, lectured for a whole generation on dogmatics as theology of experience in the sense given to it by the Erlangen theologian *R. Frank*. His successor, *J. P. Bang*, who came out of Grundtvigianism, was influenced by *Ritschl*, as was the well-known Kierkegaard scholar and systematician *E. Geismar*. Both, however, were moderately conservative, and since *Niels Munk Plum*<sup>25</sup> dogmatic theology at Copenhagen has again fallen under the domination of the so-called Center theology. The real representative of liberalism, *F. C. Krarup*, was a pastor, but gained significant influence as the author of a series of systematic works in the first decades of our century. It was only with *Søren Holm*,<sup>26</sup> the productive philosopher of religion who some years ago assumed a third professorship of systematics in the theological faculty at Copen-

24 For the "prophet" Grundtvig cf. Jul. Kaftan, *Grundtvig*, 1876; for his relationship to German romanticism (Schelling), see C. J. Scharling, *Grundtvig og Romantikken*, Copenhagen: 1947. Cf. also Noëlle Davies: *Grundtvig of Denmark*, Caernarvon: 1944; El Sontag, N. F. S. *Grundtvig, Erzieher seines Volkes*, Bern: 1946; P. G. Lindhardt: *Grundtvig. An Introduction*, London: 1951.

25 N. M. Plum, *Dogmatik*, 2nd. edition, Copenhagen: 1941; *Luthersk Laere*, Copenhagen: 1935. Cf. also *Schleiermacher i Danmark*, Univ.-Prog., Copenhagen: 1934.

26. S. Holm, *Religionsfilosofien i det tyvende Aarhundrede*, Copenhagen: 1952, Vol. I-II; *Religionsfilosofi*, Copenhagen: 1955.



hagen, that the heritage of liberalism has been fully represented in academic instruction as well.

Whereas an ageing modern era continues to have in Copenhagen an academic existence without significant practical influence, the presuppositions of this thought have been submitted to a more up-to-date radicalization in the sense of present-day existential theology at the new university of Aarhus, in such a way as to have found great response in Danish public life. The church historian at Aarhus, P. G. Lindhardt, a few years ago stirred up a considerable sensation throughout the whole land by a lecture in which he presented the thesis that eternal life is given here and now through a decision demanded by the Gospel, and that above and beyond this nothing at all can be said about eternity from the Gospel. In a later publication on the same theme Lindhardt attempted to establish this thesis in rather more detail under the title *Religion and the Gospel*.<sup>27</sup> Religion is represented as man's procuring of a chimerical life insurance policy and therefore as pious illusion, and at the same time the Gospel is represented as the radical removal of all security from life on the part of God, whereby man is revealed as the guilty one who in just this way is given the privilege of living his life in this world as "eternal life".

In the background of Lindhardt's systematics there appears to be a simplification of Bultmann's series of problems. If we here undertake a brief "attempt to understand him",<sup>28</sup> it must first be pointed out that Lindhardt is of the opinion that he can call upon the support of no less an authority than Karl Barth. He is thinking especially of Barth's *Romans* and the dialectical call to repentance which issued from it, and he is aware of his connection with the concern of the movement called "Turn of the Times", which in the 'twenties emerged as the independent Danish parallel to the current Barthianism and today as a kind of vestigial phenomenon attempts to play a negatively critical role. Barth came into contact with these radicals at that time, but as a rising dogmatician he did not know how to deal with them and was then rejected by them as an apostate, so to speak. They then turned to Bultmann, and Lindhardt is aware of being in continued connection with this group, without nevertheless wanting to identify himself with it, whereas he rejects the "older Barth" as one who has relapsed into metaphysics. At the same time he appeals to his great compatriot Kierkegaard, who just one hundred years ago went to his grave as a solitary figure who was not understood after a vehement polemic against a bourgeois Christianity and a bourgeois church. According to Lindhardt Kierkegaard has not yet been understood in his polemical concern even today, and the proof for this he finds particularly in the revival movements which have become tendencies in the church. According to him, they have become

<sup>27</sup> P. G. Lindhardt, *Religion og evangelium*, Copenhagen: 1954, p. 7 ff; cf. also the controversial lecture in *Det evige liv*, Aabenraa: 1953, p. 5 ff. Further details of what follows in *Vaekkelser og kirkelige retninger i Danmark*, Copenhagen: 1951, also "Kirken i gar og idag", Copenhagen 1955.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Karl Barth, *Rudolf Bultmann. Ein Versuch, ihn zu verstehen*, Zollikon-Zurich: 1952.

the outspoken representatives of the pious conventions which Kierkegaard struggled against.

If we ask what theological position lies behind these critical negatives of Lindhardt's, perhaps the answer can best be summarized by saying that he brings to light a specially vital understanding for the dread of existence of modern man today, and that just for that reason he understands the present-day situation of the church and the tendencies in it as being especially critical. The question arises, however, whether above and beyond this there can be found in Lindhardt's treatment a truly theological understanding of today's crisis. Viewing his work to date, one must give a negative answer. The critical judgment which he has pronounced upon the church and primarily upon the more or less moribund revivalist piety, that it is a kind of life insurance policy for the next world, may in part rest upon correct observations. The crisis as such, however, cannot be solved by a basically unprincipled existentialism, nor can one appeal for such support to Kierkegaard. The great Danish thinker may well have been dependent in his capacity as a Christian apologist upon negations of a philosophical nature, which then in his final polemic against the church threatened to gain the upper hand. However, as recently a young Norwegian scholar convincingly showed,<sup>29</sup> one will not be able to deny that he had a truly religious position, which, according to the dogma of the church, quite apart from immanent human existence, had its foundation in faith in Jesus Christ.

Within the theological faculty of Aarhus Lindhardt appears to be alone in his existentialist views. The representative of the philosophy of religion there, K. E. Løgstrup, began first of all with an investigation of the "epistemological antithesis between transcendental philosophical idealism and theology". In coming to terms with F. K. Schumann he attempts to contrast the epistemological monologue of idealism with a dialogue of a theology of revelation. Following this he later subjected Kierkegaardian existentialism to a similar critique and thereby rejects an existentialist theology like Bultmann's.<sup>30</sup>

The controversy with Bultmann has also been taken up by the Aarhus dogmatician Regin Preter, particularly, for example, in the second edition of his dogmatics which recently appeared, in which the prolegomena have been especially treated in relation to existentialist theology. In contrast to Lindhardt, Preter forcefully demonstrates that the affirmation [*das "Fürwahrhalten"*] of the Christ event testified to by the Scriptures is the indispensable presupposition of faith, and in this sense establishes in detail the dogmatic authority of the Bible and the confessions of the church. Personally, Preter came originally out of Grundtvigian circles, came under the influence of Barth in the 'thirties and later became known as a Luther scholar with his study, *Spiritus Creator*. His dogmatics, *Creation and Redemption*, is an

<sup>29</sup> P. Lønning, *Samtidighedens Situation*, Oslo: 1954.

<sup>30</sup> K. E. Løgstrup, *Den erkendelsesteoretiske Konflikt mellem den transcendentalfilosofiske Idealisme og Teologien*, Copenhagen: 1942; Kierkegaards und Heideggers Existenzanalyse und ihr Verhältnis zur Verkündigung, Berlin: 1950.



energetic attempt to unite Grundtvig's sacramental view with the kerygmatic understanding of the Gospel under the influence of Barth, in which a basic confessionally Lutheran attitude predominates.<sup>31</sup>

Whereas the influence of Barth on Prenter has receded, it has become more decided in the case of the Copenhagen systematician *N. H. Søe*, the successor of Geismar, in such a way that one can refer to him as an outspoken pupil of Barth's, although he has been connected in origin with the inner mission. In the foreword to his philosophy of religion which appeared last year he directly ascribes to his Swiss teacher the significance of a dividing line between theology past and future. Accordingly, in his ethics he takes the view that Barth's rejection of every natural knowledge of God and the theses of the Declaration of Barmen of 1934 are the ultimate consequence of the biblical idea of revelation. Along with Barth, he postulates that in ethics too it is precisely by generally dispensing with the traditional presuppositions of natural revelation that theology is to be kept evangelical.<sup>32</sup> But because Barth's corresponding christological ontology is less in evidence here, Søe succeeds even less than his teacher in mastering the insuperable difficulty which must arise in such an ethic, because marriage and the state, for example, appear in the Scriptures as divine ordinances even without the accomplished redemption in Christ. Despite scholarship and attention to detail, what appears to be lacking is an understanding of the Lutheran doctrine of the "two realms".

Søe's colleague in Copenhagen, the dogmatician *K. E. Skydsgaard*, the successor to Plum, first made his appearance with a study on the theology of Thomism, *Metaphysics and Faith*. The antithesis between the Catholic and Evangelical views of Christianity indicated in this title was taken up by him recently for closer investigation from a confessionally Lutheran standpoint in a work entitled *Yes and No*.<sup>33</sup> Seen dogmatically, it can be said that here the carefully balanced attitude of the Center becomes apparent. What is new in it, however, is the ecumenical breadth of the problems treated, and in this point today Skydsgaard approaches Prenter, who allows the ecumenical discussion as a valid methodological presupposition of dogmatics. The fact that Roman Catholicism too is being drawn into consideration more than has hitherto been usual in Scandinavian theology stems from the intensified endeavors of the Roman church in its present-day Scandinavian missionary work. For the rest, we shall take up again in connection with our treatment of Norwegian theology the special questions which have arisen out of the ecclesiastical situation of the Nordic countries.

<sup>31</sup> R. Prenter, *Skabelse og genløsning*, 2nd. edition, Copenhagen: 1955. For his background cf. the contribution to the publication in honor of Barth, *Theologische Aufsätze*; Munich 1936, "Die Frage nach einer theologischen Grundtvig-Interpretation", p. 505 ff. His present views are given in *Le Saint-Esprit et le renouveau de l'Eglise* (Cahiers théologiques de l'actualité protestante, No. 23/24) Neuchâtel-Paris: 1949; Cf. *Spiritus Creator* in German, Munich: 1954, and in English, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1954.

<sup>32</sup> N. H. Søe, *Religionsfilosofi*, Copenhagen: 1955. His *Kristelig etik*, 3rd. edition, Copenhagen: 1951, is available in a German edition: *Christliche Ethik*, Munich: 1949, cf. esp. § 1-2.

<sup>33</sup> K. E. Skydsgaard, *Metafysik og tro*, Copenhagen: 1937; *Ja og Nej*, Copenhagen: 1953 (German edition in preparation).

## III

Norwegian theology and the Norwegian church show still another picture than is the case with the corresponding Swedish and Danish situations. In relation to the church the newer development in Norway has driven a middle course. This can be recognized especially in the fact that the revivals generally arose as independent movements within the framework of the church, whereas in Sweden they generally led to the formation of free church congregations, though without formal withdrawal from the church, and in Denmark, on the other hand, they led to the church tendencies already mentioned (ignoring "dissenters" in the sense of associations outside the church). The common presupposition of this varied development is the traditional state church system which continues to exist in modern times under democratic parliamentary conditions, though less rigid because of extensive civil "freedom of religion".

On the part of the national churches, which in Scandinavia all have an episcopal structure, the term "state church", to be sure, is used with reluctance today, at least in Sweden, where there has been for centuries, in addition to the state government of the church, a regularly convened church assembly and a certain amount of ecclesiastical self-government.<sup>33a</sup> In Denmark the term "folk church" is much in favor and occasionally the inner independence of the church from the state is emphasized although the independent folk church government which was provided in the constitution of the year 1848-1849 has not been put into effect at all.<sup>34</sup> In Norway, certain changes in the constitution of the state church were instituted a few years ago without in any way circumscribing the traditional state church government which the constitution of the year 1814 preserved in full.

This must be borne in mind if one is to understand the presentday situation of church and theology in Norway. The moderate development mentioned above consists primarily in the fact that the state church structure has continued to remain unbroken as the governmental framework of the church, without continued enforcement of the old legal limitations and restrictions. This means on the one hand that ecclesiastical tendencies could not dominate to the same degree as in Denmark, where the state church situation from 1849 gradually became fluid. On the other hand, however, the Norwegian church was not able to maintain the same somewhat rigid character of the ministry as in Sweden, where the attachment of the self-governing organs of the church to the state appears to have encouraged free church tendencies. After the example of the well-known lay preacher Hans Nielsen Hauge, certain activities on behalf of inner and foreign missions gradually developed, after initial disputes, within the framework of the Norwegian church. These

33a: Cf. Bo Giertz (Bishop of Gothenburg), *Kristi Kyrka*, 2nd ed., Stockholm: 1939, p. 98 f; also in German: *Die Kirche Christi*, Göttingen: 1954.

34 Cf. Hal Koch, "Den danske folkekirke" in *Nordisk teologi*, publication in honor of Bring, Lund: 1955, p. 138 ff.



are free of every kind of state church guardianship, yet also free of excessive ecclesiastical pretensions.<sup>35</sup>

The establishment of the Free Faculty of Theology at Oslo has not been the least important factor in keeping the revival movements within the framework of the church. Since 1913, as far as church law is concerned, it has had the same status as the theological faculty of the University of Oslo (the new university in Bergen has no theological faculty). The systematician at the Free Faculty, O. Hallesby, who was called shortly after the establishment of the Faculty and who only a few years ago became professor emeritus, came from the revival group, and theologically represented the older Erlangen school, following the Leipzig theologian Ihmels. Thus he found the tie to the pietist heritage which in Norway has played a role in molding the people similar for example to that in Württemberg. As a young theological candidate, Hallesby at first admired liberal theology which had taken the lead in the state theological faculty about the turn of the century, but later he became this theology's keenest and most effective opponent.<sup>36</sup> Its representative in the state faculty was *Johs. Ording* (d. 1929),<sup>37</sup> who was joined by the moderate conservative *Chr. Ihlen* (retired since 1938).<sup>38</sup> The successor to Ihlen, *Hans N. H. Ording* (d. 1953),<sup>39</sup> also a moderate conservative, was a nephew of J. Ording.

Today the two special divisions of systematic theology which we mentioned at the beginning (dogmatics on the one hand, ethics and the philosophy of religion on the other) has also been carried out in Norway. The present dogmatician in the state faculty, *Reidar Hauge*, came originally from the Free Faculty, but in the meantime has become a disciple of Barth and today appears to attempt a mediation by means of a non-confessionally molded theology.<sup>40</sup> His colleague in systematics, *Johan B. Hygen*, as a representative of ethics and the philosophy of religion, appears to want to take up again the series of problems of the 19th century.<sup>41</sup> In the Free Faculty the latter field is represented by *John Nome*, who for a time concerned himself with German philosophy and Norwegian church history, and later devoted a critical monograph to the declining neo-Protestantism of Troeltsch.<sup>42</sup> Dogmatics is taught here by

35 Cf. in German, V. H. Günther, *Hans Nielsen Hauge, Norwegens Erwecker*, 1928; A. Hauge, *Hans Nielsen Hauge, Ein Wandersmann*, 1953; Joseph M. Shaw, 'Pulpit under the Sky', Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1955. There is now a critical edition of Hauge's writings: *Hans Nielsen Huges skrifter*, Vols. I–VIII, edited by N. H. Ording, Oslo: 1947–54.

36 O. Hallesby, *Den kristelige troslaere*, Vols. I–II, 2nd edition Oslo: 1925–38; *Den kristelige sedelaere*, Vols. I–II, Oslo, 1950–51, 2nd. edition. Of his comprehensive and edifying writings the following are available in German: *Wie ich Christ wurde*, 2nd edition 1953; *Vom Beten*, 1954. Likewise the following, among others, are available in English: *Why I am a Christian*; *Prayer*; *Conscience*; *Religious or Christian*; first Minneapolis: 1930, 1931, 1933 and 1933, then London: 1950, 1943<sup>2</sup>, 1950<sup>2</sup> and 1954.

37 J. Ording, *Den religiøse erkjendelse*, Kristiania: 1903, is influenced by Ritschlianism; likewise *Den kristelige tro*, Vols. I–II, Kristiania: 1914–15.

38 Chr. Ihlen, *Hovedpunkter ang. de protestantiske principers stilling i det moderne aandsliv*, Kristiania: 1905; *Systematisk teologi i omriss. I. Prinsippaere*, Oslo: 1927; *Den kristne tro. II. Dogmatikk*, Oslo: 1952.

39 H. N. H. Ording, *Untersuchungen über Entwicklungslehre und Teleologie. Mit Rücksicht auf die theologische Erkenntnis*, Berlin: 1921; *Estetik og kristendom*, Oslo: 1927; *Dogmatisk metode*, Oslo: 1939.

40 R. Hauge, *Inkarnasjon og oppstandelse*, Oslo: 1941; *Gudsåpenbaring og troslydighet*, Oslo: 1952.

41 J. B. Hygen, *Moralen og Guds rike. Teleologiske problemer i den kristne elikk*, Oslo: 1948. *Elementaer etik*, Oslo: 1954; Cf. in German: *Albert Schweitzers Kulturkritik*, Göttingen: 1955.

42 J. Nome, *Filosofisk kultur: Georg Simmel som moderne tenker; Mennesket og kulturen; Det moderne livsproblem hos Troeltsch og vår tid*, Oslo: 1937, 1938 and 1950; also works on church history written in the 'forties.

the author of this article as strictly confessional Lutheranism. In the other disciplines too there is today an almost completely new theological generation, faced by a new situation, where theological liberalism of the old style no longer appears to play a significant role.

This does not mean of course that from now on all questions at issue can be considered solved. The chief theological problem, which more than any other still needs a new systematic approach and solution is without doubt the question of the church. In the Nordic lands, because of the continued existence of the state church system, this question takes on a very special character, the import of which has hitherto scarcely been given due recognition, although today it is being felt in a new way. The general secularization and dechristianization of the life of the people has greatly accelerated after both world wars, particularly in Scandinavia. For this reason the question of church, people and state has actually taken on a new character without the churches' as yet fundamentally questioning the state church system as such.

In Sweden it appears, however, that the high church movement already mentioned is concerned to strengthen the inner independence of the church, but on the other hand, as a result of this, the free church tendencies of other groups who have but little understanding for the task of the folk church are being encouraged. If such tendencies have not played so great a role in Norway and Denmark, this may in part be traced to the fact that after the example of Grundtvig people within the revival movements have been content to let the state church system stand almost as a "civil institution", which as the pedagogical framework of the nation has the task of preparing the soil for revival. This view, questionable in itself, which is historically conditioned by the Enlightenment's secular understanding of the church,<sup>43</sup> can appear as an understandable evaluation of the state church system, because indeed state churches have shown for centuries only too little understanding for their missionary and diaconal tasks. These tasks have been taken up by the revival movements perhaps to a greater degree in Norway than in the other Scandinavian countries. Because of this initiative, the hidden and more or less suppressed spiritual resources of the church population have been liberated in such a way that never again shall we be able to become a church of the clergy.<sup>44</sup>

The reverse side of this development is the fact that through the apathy of a bourgeois church, groups of Christians within the national church that have gathered themselves into fellowships have not infrequently allowed themselves to be led astray into neglecting on their part the official church with its means of grace, in order then to find the true church realized within their narrower sphere. This neglect seems to be taking its revenge today, in that the initiative for evangelism threatens to slip from their hands, while the national

43 For Grundtvig's connection with the view of the church of the English Enlightenment cf. P. G. Lindhardt, "Borgerlig indretning - himmelsk gaest", in *Dansk teol. Tidsskr.* 1949, p. 129 ff.

44 J. Lavik, *Spenningen i norsk kirkeliv*, Oslo: 1946 depicts from the point of view of an educated layman (editor of a Christian journal, d. 1952), the tensions within the church since Hans Nielsen Hauge.



church as such, under the leadership of the bishops, is concerning itself with a renewal of lay activity in regular parish work. A promising aspect of this situation is the fact that the free fellowship groups, just as much as the church leaders who are conscious of their responsibility, are gradually coming to feel as distressing the extensive alienation of large sections of the nation from the church, particularly among the educated people and the working population. Here what is necessary more than anything else is that the whole church population should rally to the task of evangelism. But for this we also need a fresh reflection on the nature of the church as the bearer of the Gospel; this lays upon theology today, and especially upon dogmatics, a particularly important task.

Only by accomplishing this task shall we be able to prepare ourselves for that dispute between church and state which in the age of secularism, even in the Nordic lands will come sooner or later as the result of a state church system threatened from both within and without. What we experienced in Norway in this connection during the last war has been rightly regarded by Bishop *Eivind Berggrav* as a symptom of or prologue to what could become a reality even in a godless democracy in an age of the totalitarian state, not to mention other political possibilities. When in his wartime study *Man and State*, or in his well-known lecture at the Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in Hannover in 1952 he comes out for the right, legitimized on Christian principles, to revolt against a tyrannical state, we must admittedly as Lutheran Christians have serious misgivings.<sup>45</sup> Neither the Bible nor the Lutheran confessions, any more than "Luther himself" knows here any way other than that of confessing and suffering in the name of Christ. But Berggrav has at all events done us the service of keeping before our eyes the ominous gravity of this question.

A few years ago we had the unwelcome experience of hearing the highest expert in constitutional law at the University of Oslo assert in an official opinion that the state authorities concerned in church government had in principle the right to modify the confession of the Lutheran church of Norway.<sup>46</sup> Berggrav immediately raised an objection, and this objection is valid seen not only from the biblical and confessional point of view but also from that of the constitution of our country.<sup>47</sup> For according to the constitution of 1814, the system of church government by the King is still held to be, in the sense of orthodox Lutheran episcopalianism, the constitutional guarantor and protector of the Evangelical Lutheran confession in its character as the "public

45 E. Berggrav, *Staten og mennesket*, Oslo: 1945, cf. German edition: *Der Staat und der Mensch*, Hamburg: 1946. English edition: *Man and State*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press. On the question of active resistance W. Künneth is much more restrained in *Politik zwischen Dämon und Gott*, Berlin: 1954, where the same problems are treated.

46 Fr. Castberg, *Statsreligion og kirkestyre*, Oslo: 1953.

47 E. Berggrav, *Contra Castberg*, Oslo: 1954. Castberg's thesis has been defended by the church historian E. Molland (state theological faculty): *Statskirke og Jesu Kristi kirke*, Oslo: 1954, who in fact appeals to Grundtvig, who is here regarded as the representative of a genuinely Lutheran point of view (cf. Note 43 above). Only in the case of § 2 of the Norwegian constitution mentioned below (Note 48) being flagrantly violated by the state does he consider the possibility that the church itself may break the connection with the state.

religion of the state", as it says.<sup>48</sup> The confession is obviously presupposed here as a given factor, and it is by no means said that it is put under state authority; the legal guarantee then lies in the fact that the king and a majority of the government (originally the whole government) are bound by obligation to the confession of the church and that only this majority is competent in church matters.<sup>49</sup>

To be sure, this guarantee has been called in question in fact by the parliamentarianism carried through in 1884, which was not provided for in the constitution. Add to this the fact that in the radical parties of Parliament the revolutionary idea of the separation of church and state has evidently been abandoned today in favor of an all the more resolute adherence to the state church system. Although Parliament this time expressly rejected any state competence concerning the confession of the church we would doubtless do well under the given circumstance to continue to reckon with a revolutionary or totalitarian possibility in the question of the church. But here we are faced with a future that still lies in darkness.

48 The most important paragraphs on the church in the Norwegian constitution run as follows in translation: From Chapter A ("On the form of the state and on religion"): "The Evangelical Lutheran religion remains the official religion of the state. Those inhabitants who profess this religion are under an obligation to bring up their children in conformity with it" (§ 2). From Chapter B ("On the executive power, on the king and the royal family"): "The king shall always profess the Evangelical Lutheran religion, maintain and protect it" (§ 4): "The king regulates all public church and worship services, all meetings and assemblies concerning religious matters, and sees that the public teachers of religion follow the standards prescribed for them" (§ 16). Cf. Br. Morgenstjerne, *Das Staatsrecht des Königreichs Norwegen (Das öffentliche Recht der Gegenwart, Vol. XIII)*, Tübingen: 1911, p. 153 ff.

49 The relevant clause in the statute, since 1919, runs as follows: "More than half the members of the cabinet shall profess the official religion of the state" (part of § 12). Then in addition: "A member of the cabinet who does not profess the official religion of the state shall not take part in the handling of affairs which concern the state church" (from 27).



# FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

## GENEVA DIARY

### THE MEETINGS IN INDIA

The churches in Asia have been the focus of attention of the Lutheran World Federation during the last few months. We are grateful to God for the opportunity to meet with representatives of churches in that part of the world as we assembled for our first Executive Committee meeting on that continent. Almost all meetings of this kind are subject to the influence of the environment in which we meet. It was good, therefore, in our Federation to have this occasion to transfer our meeting place to Madras, India, where we could listen to the reports of church leaders from Japan, Hong Kong, Formosa, Indonesia, New Guinea, Pakistan, Australia and Malaya. The fact that there was such wide representation from these churches attending the sessions of the Executive Committee changed the tone and mood of the entire meeting. We were again impressed by the urgency of the task of these churches in proclaiming the Gospel to their people.

The many problems which these churches face came to the fore as we discussed the common tasks of the Federation. We sensed anew the growing feeling of nationalism and the rising renewal of the older religions. In this milieu the Christians are being forced to assess their work and to rediscover the central purpose of the existence of a Christian minority. As the status of the Europeans and Americans in this part of the world gradually changes, our brethren who carry the main burden of this work assume a new role of leadership and responsibility. We welcome this new day and hope that the existence of a family of churches like that of the Lutheran World Federation can be of constant assistance both spiritually and materially.

All the particular functions of the Federation took on an added and more significant meaning in the setting of our churches in Asia. We understand a little better the requirements for the work of the Departments of Theology, World Mission, World Service and Information. We can also hope that our churches in Asia grasp a little more clearly the possibilities there are in such common cooperation as is possible through the Federation.

The long line of witnesses of the Christian faith, beginning with the first Protestant missionaries in 1706, was a reminder to all of us that God has graciously raised up people to serve his cause as the time and the place require. One could not help but reflect upon the hardships and strangeness that must have faced the first missionaries as they came to this part of the world. Much of what was then humanly difficult has disappeared in the process of change that has taken place and the ease with which we can now communicate and travel. The role of the missionary today is completely different from that of those who arrived two and a half centuries ago, though in a sense it is still the same. The Christians of India have the opportunity today of witnessing to a people that still needs the Christian Gospel as much as people in every other part of the world. We hope that the observance of this anniversary in Tranquebar led to a renewal of commitment on the part of pastors and congregations in the great country of India. In a sense the Christian church must take new steps at all times in order to reach the vast multitudes with the message of Christ.

It was a salutary experience for all of us to meet the Indian leaders of our Lutheran groups and get to know about their particular situation. In this connection we rejoice with the Tamil Lutherans in the consecration of their new bishop, the well-known Rajah Manikam. We continue to ask all our people everywhere to pray for these our brethren as they fulfill their mission in their countries.

## STEWARDSHIP IN OUR CHURCHES

One of the most valuable results of the Hannover Assembly was the new interest created in the study and practice of stewardship on the part of our congregations. It is now clear after four years that one of the happy results of the Assembly in Hannover was the striking effect produced by the emphasis upon this element of congregational life. It can still be said that we have no adequate parallel to the concept or practice of this particular phase of church life as it has developed in America, but regardless of our careful definitions it can still be proved that many of the congregations in Europe and Asia are today benefitting from the discussions we held in Hannover on stewardship.

The above remarks are made after having met with the Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life in Norway recently. The interesting fact as one listened to the reports from Germany, Norway, Holland, India and other countries was that more and more of our pastors and congregations are beginning to find real value in the use of a modified form of what the Americans call "Stewardship Practices". One observer from Norway reported that the most lasting effect from Hannover was the growing interest on the part of the pastors and congregations in Norway in this development. One could illustrate this by pointing to the exchange of persons who have assisted in this process. One could also point to the impulses that have come from meetings of the kind held in Norway. There is proof that a number of congregations have accepted many of the practices in modified form and have found many spiritual blessings in the form of increased lay activity, greater attendance at church service, a wider understanding of the role of the Christian witness.

The Commission which met in Norway includes the broad interests of youth, women, laity, evangelism—in fact all the aspects of a living congregation. This Commission therefore represents a vivid cross-section of what is taking place in many of our churches today around the world. The stimulation that has come from the work of this Commission will have proven effects upon the renewal of all our people today.

This Commission spent considerable time not only in reviewing its past activities but in projecting future plans. It places great emphasis on continued development along these lines through the Exchange of Church Workers program. Under this program, which has recently been launched by our Department of Lutheran World Service, there will be opportunities for laymen and pastors in the areas of Inner Missions, youth and student work, the diaconate, evangelism, to visit other churches to observe and study what is happening in their particular field. The hope is, of course, that upon return these individuals will be able to pass on in very practical terms some of the insights and methods used in neighboring churches. The Federation looks hopefully to the prospects of a wide exchange of personnel from all parts of our churches in such a general program of study and practice.

Carl E. Lund-Quist



## World Mission

### The Documents of the Asia Lutheran Conference

JANUARY 20—22, 1956  
GURUKUL, MADRAS, SOUTH INDIA

#### THE MESSAGE

The members of this Conference represent the Lutheran churches of Asia, viz., those of Burma, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaya and Pakistan, as also of New Guinea and Australia. We have taken part in the Quarter Millennium Jubilee of Protestant missions at Tranquebar and the consecration of Dr. R. B. Manikam as the fourth Bishop of Tranquebar and the first Asian Lutheran bishop. We have further observed the proceedings of the Lutheran World Federation Executive Committee in Madras, and now we have spent three days in fellowship with each other and—even more important—with God.

The warnings and promises to the churches of Asia in Rev. 2 and 3 apply also to us. The present day with its tremendous revolutions in so many spheres of life brings a clear call from our God to his church. He is working today as in the day of creation and ever since. And his call is a call of mercy in Jesus, the same call as that of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter and Pentecost, a call to all his children to receive him and take part in his work.

When we look back at his faithfulness during all these centuries our hearts overflow with gratitude and praise. When we look at ourselves, however, we bow our heads in shame and confession as we have, so many times and for so long years, neglected his call and shut our hearts to his Spirit. But we also know the grace of our Saviour and hasten to confess our sins of omission and commission, and to receive his free forgiveness. So we can and must with joy, gratitude and boldness of faith address ourselves to all our churches in order to share with you the grace of our Lord, which is new today as every day.

To the young churches, as to the old, we say first of all: Praise the Lord and serve him with joy! We do this in spite of the obvious weaknesses among us. A low spiritual level in our congregations is the root of many ills: laziness and selfcomplacency,

quarrels and factions, indifference and lack of Christian knowledge, neglect of witness and of faithfulness in our calling. The call of the hour to us is to open our hearts to the Word of God and to bring it to all our members, to be regular in our individual and family devotions and church service with its holy Sacraments, and by our individual and community life to proclaim boldly Christ in season and out of season to all men. We shall not think of ourselves alone: round about us are other people not reached by the saving grace of our Lord to whom we are called to witness. A sacrificial life in giving and in service as true disciples of our Lord is the glory to which he is calling his church.

Necessary today is the exchange of personnel among the churches, each church willing to both give and receive. Another special need which we have in common in Asia—as no doubt also other more distant parts of the younger churches—is well equipped and sanctified indigenous leaders. For this purpose we require a high grade Theological College and Research Institute, for penetrating research into our own faith in relation to the living religions of Asia. Such an institution must be in an Asian setting, in the midst of progressing missionary service where suitable young men and women can get the necessary training. In this respect we commend the churches of India for showing the way by launching the Gurukul Theological College and Research Institute at Kilpauk, Madras, and draw attention to the recommendation of a preparatory meeting of representatives of the Lutheran churches in Asia: "We invite all Lutheran churches in Asia to cooperate in Gurukul in research on Lutheran theology against an Asian background and to build up this activity as a Jubilee project."

We members of the Asian churches are also members of the Ecumenical church and so we wish to address ourselves in this year of our great Jubilee also to the old churches. First of all we thank you for the Gospel of Christ which you have brought and shared with us. We shall never forget this *one* vital service. God bless you for all your sacrifices in men and money and all your faithful ministry. It will be a day of special rejoicing when God calls *us* to serve *you* with the same Gospel which *you* have first given to us. The ensuing days will no doubt be a time of such mutual giving and

receiving. But still *we* are in greater need of *your* growing service. The call of the day is really the call to a much larger world service than any of us as yet have undertaken.

The Quarter Millennium Jubilee is a call to all the church to take a bold step forward in the work for Christ. Nothing less can be the right response of faith to the call of God. The Jubilee should not only be a passing hour of retrospection but indicate a resolute step forward of obedience in the spirit of Christ. The resources of the church of Christ are by far not exhausted. How could they ever be exhausted! Therefore the call of this day is a call also to the old churches to double their efforts in the service of Christ. The ways for that is not for us to indicate. We only wish in this connection to point out the desirability of renewing the Jubilee every year as a special day of prayer and offering.

We commend you all to the grace of our Lord today and in the unknown future, unknown to us but not to him, unknown in details for us but well known in principle as he is the same today as yesterday and for ever.

And we make our own his final promise to the seven churches of Asia: "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches."

## THE CHURCH AS A CONFESSING FELLOWSHIP

### Report of Group I

The group formulated five questions for discussion. They are:

1. How far are (a) the ecumenical creeds, (b) the Lutheran 16th century confessions relevant to churches in modern Asia?
2. In negotiating with other churches, how far should we insist that they accept our creeds or confessions?
3. When should the younger churches in the new Asian situation formulate creeds of their own?
4. Our confessional attitudes towards the claims of other religions.
5. What shall be the standard in dealing with Christian sects?

### *How far are creeds and confessions relevant to churches in modern Asia?*

It was pointed out that creeds are the response to a call to the church in a given situation. Thus our creeds are never outdated. They state essential truths of God and Christianity. Can we add something more in the Asian context?

The question of an indigenous theology is an old one. Many feel that we should have a theology that in every respect is adaptable to the situation. Some aspects of theology are negotiable i. e. are subject to experience and will. Other aspects are non-negotiable; they are part of our confession and our faith. Therefore we cannot say "Christ plus something else". The Roman church said "Christ plus merit"—many now say: "Christ plus socialism or nationalism". But we cannot make ourselves the authority. We can trust only in Christ.

It was interesting to note as Dr. Kishi said in his paper that in Japan creeds are a burning issue, particularly in view of the controversy about the person of Christ.

The final conclusion is that the three ecumenical creeds express correctly what we believe and that they are relevant today.

A confession in the Christian church is not an accident but is of its essence, and is necessary for its existence, because it is a response in the life of the church to a given situation. Confessions are both a summary of the truth and rejection of error. The church does not exist because of our administration nor because of our piety but because Christ came and gave himself for it. He repeatedly gives to the church his means of grace. Hence Luther consulted only the Scriptures in finding the answer to the question "Where is the church"? His answer—When we teach what Christ taught. When we administer the sacraments rightly, according to God's Word—there is the church. Hence our opinions are not important, but his will. In spite of our shortcomings and what we do or fail to do—Christ constantly renews his church. If the church were brilliant in the eyes of the world and admired by it, it would be nothing if it had not Christ. Even if it is but small and obscure, having Christ, it is glorious.



*Does the church need new or revised confessions?*

They may be necessary now or in the future in Asia. But any new confession must include the historical experience of the church and the confessions of the past. The Nicene creed is Asian in origin. But the place of origin is not important. The important thing is: does it contain the truth? Each century gets its own commission from God. For example, the Trinity, Christology, the nature of man and his sinfulness were the burning questions of a previous period. Today they are: What is the truth, and what are the sacraments and their significance? Today perhaps there is needed a further confessional statement on the nature of the church; what is a church and what is a sacrament?

But confessions are not formulated out of the air. Confessions come from experience and from the leading of God. God leads his church to confession in a given situation, when the church is in danger. The church makes the confession in fear and trembling with a martyr spirit, in humility and with the question "Am I sufficient for these things?" Then God leads us to do what he wants us to do. We must pray that we do not confess when the hour has not come. We must pray also for power to confession when the time calls for confession.

Therefore there may be need for new declarations from time to time according to the situations in various countries, but these shall not contradict the historical confessions.

*In negotiating with other churches, how far should we insist that they accept our creeds or confessions?*

In negotiations for church union we can only put our confessions before the other side. We have to go back farther to a basis for negotiations and start with the Word. In India for instance, because Christians form a minority, the Christian community is often identified with the Christian church, and the opinion is widely held that a confession should be all-embracing. But a new confession should not be an easy bridge into the Christian faith but rather should draw the profile of the Christian faith more sharply as over against Hinduism. There is no possibility of going back

on *solus Christus, sola scriptura, sola fide*. The substance must always be the same, "the free grace of God in Jesus Christ". There may come a time when new formulations become necessary. But the Gospel does not change because it is not under our authority. The way to union is a one-way street. Having entered it we cannot go back; we can only break off. Hence the necessity to guard carefully what has been entrusted to us.

Therefore we must be careful to keep to the essence of Christian truth of salvation while attaching not too much importance to non-essentials. It is not important that the Lutheran church be great and admired. It is important that the truth of salvation given by God be preserved in the church.

In this connection it was interesting to hear that some churches do not consider the name "Lutheran" an essential part of their being. The Lutheran church in China calls itself "The Justification by Faith Church". The Batak church does not use the name "Lutheran", though it affirms that its preaching, teaching and thinking is Lutheran.

*Our confessional attitude towards the claims of other religions.*

We must be clear about what we preach. We must preach Christ, the Way, the Truth and the Life. No other course is possible. We cannot minimize or compromise. Christianity cannot be put on the same plane with other religions.

Jesus Christ came to reveal the love of the Father to the world. He is the Evangel, who has said—"Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." He, therefore, both frees and unites.

The method in presenting Christ when dealing with the claims of other religions involves not only the content of the preaching but the attitude. We must be tactful, yet positive. A useful approach might be to remind non-Christians that we are all tainted with sin. Christians are at the same time sinners and justified by Christ. Sin, i.e., rebellion against God, is common to us all. The Christian is a justified sinner who rejoices in Christ.

The Batak group have an eloquent testimony concerning their approach to Islam and animism by preaching through character; the good Christian, moral, clean life is the



primary sermon. They have an institution for training in witnessing for Christ in this way. Till now about 1700 people have completed the course. Upon completion of the course, they give a promise which is almost a vow, that in whatever employment they are or wherever they live, they will witness for Christ. By these means they attract between 3000 and 4000 converts annually. Some of these come from Muslims, some from Roman Catholics, but the majority from animists. Another way suggested was that of the Christian bookstall on the public street or in some place where the prejudice of the non-Christian will not prevent him from coming to it.

Our method of worship, our devotion, can be a very effective way also of confessing our faith in Christ. If we worship in a formal and routine manner it is hard to convince the non-Christian that we are serious in our faith and confession of Christ.

*What shall be our attitude toward Christian sects?*

Can we set up a standard of dealing with such groups as Pentecostals, Adventists, etc.? Do they have a wrong conception of the church? We must draw a distinction between error that is soul-destroying and that which is simply error of fact. The latter would not prohibit membership in the church of Christ. There may be here a sort of unity in diversity. For union or unity, however, in the fuller sense, there must be agreement on the confessional basis. Agreement on essentials is absolutely necessary. We may negotiate or discuss with anyone who is willing to listen to the Word of God and submit himself to its authority.

Finally, we see that confession is not merely and only subscription to written creeds or formulae. It is also a way of life, a witness. As such it transcends all claims of racial and geographical boundaries. It is the answer of the believer's heart and soul and mind to the call of the gospel of salvation in Jesus Christ our Lord. So here the themes of the two groups meet. A confessing fellowship is also an evangelizing fellowship, else its confession is a sham. An evangelizing fellowship is also a confessing fellowship, else it is preaching something it does not believe. So confession, faith and testimony meet at the foot of the Cross.

## THE CHURCH AS AN EVANGELIZING ORGANISM

### Report of Group II

#### Part 1.

The church is the body of Christ in and through which the saving grace of God is communicated to the world. The content of evangelism is none but Christ himself, who is the God-man come down to earth for us men and for our salvation.

The local congregation is the channel through which the redemptive love of God should flow to the hungry souls in our neighborhood. Every member of the congregation shall be inspired to have the burning conviction that he or she is and ought to be a witness-bearer to Christ. The pastor will be the guide of the congregation and will share in this unfinished task which Christ has bequeathed to us. Even if all the families are not evangelistically minded in the beginning, the pastor shall try to stimulate a few of the more responsive families in this regard, and with their cooperation, prayer, planning and preparation forge ahead preaching the gospel to the immediate neighbors and in course of time to people living in more distant places. With the blessing of God, our evangelistic work must result in fresh members being incorporated in the church through baptism. The older congregation should be exhorted and trained to give them such a welcome, fellowship and practical help that the new converts would consider this new environment a real home in the place of the one they have given up. These new converts should also be trained to become witnesses in their turn.

Results cannot in fact be achieved so long as the stagnant, worldly-minded, backward-looking, self-centered congregations are not given a jolt by the preaching of the Word through which the hearts of not only individuals but groups, nay, the entire congregation is revolutionized or transformed into a mighty instrument in the hand of God. Until and unless the entire or, at any rate, the dominant group therein, regards the task of evangelism as a matter of life and death importance, it will be idle to expect good fruits.

*Is the ministry functioning as it ought to?*

Only a lighted candle can light others; only when the pastor or a leader of the



congregation is lighted by the Word of God, can he set the hearts of others on fire. This principle shall be brought into application, not only when candidates to the ministry are selected and trained but throughout their ministry. Not only their spiritual life but their intellectual vigilance should be kept up by constant and continued study of Christian literature. Revival meetings should be periodically held at the local, regional and top levels.

It is recognized that under the present set-up, the time and energy of a pastor is frittered away on all kinds of jobs which could be wisely and profitably shared with some of the consecrated and service-minded laymen in the congregation. This sort of effective cooperation by the laity in the life and work of the congregation would release the pastor for the more essential aspects of his ministry. It is, therefore, recommended that the maximum number of members in the congregations in charge of a pastor shall under no circumstances exceed a thousand. This recommendation, if given effect to, will demand more ministers, more finance and more adequate training.

*What hinders us from rapid growth and are we facing honestly the issues before us?*

While there is room for "charismatic" preachers at every time and place, our churches shall take immediate steps to train not only the pastors but the lay men and women, both young and old, in the specific task of preaching the gospel to the non-Christian neighbor. Specially prepared literature to meet the needs of various groups—Christian and non-Christian—should be made available. This could be achieved by a group of research scholars, specially and adequately equipped.

Asia is awakened, and awakened in all aspects of life, political, social, economic and religious. The religious situation is an entirely new phenomenon. To proclaim the gospel of Christ, relevant to non-Christians in our respective countries, requires an entirely new approach on the part of the churches. The time-honored measures of evangelism will not at all be enough. New situations require new methods, boldly

conceived and courageously operated. The Christian minorities in each of the countries represented here can only survive, if we preach the true gospel in a right and daring manner. The gospel message has to be conveyed to individuals, groups and communities according to their understanding and need. We recommend therefore that special literature be prepared and distributed both for the benefit of the Christian workers and the non-Christians.

Special care should be bestowed not only on the content but also the language of the literature. Our Christian workers, both pastors and laymen, should be trained to clothe the message of joy and hope in words and idioms that will not only be attractive but inspiring and enchanting.

#### Part 2.

While preaching of the simple gospel should be central, an intellectual approach also should not be ignored.

With respect to the question of reforms in the church, the following points were emphasized:

- a) No reform is necessary in the content of the Gospel. Jesus Christ alone is the Gospel.
- b) More lay ministry is needed.
- c) The Gospel should be presented in the living modern language of the people. More up-to-date translations are needed.
- d) Make use of modern scientific equipment for evangelism (e.g. radio evangelism).
- e) More and more try to follow Asian concepts of Christian life (e.g. ashram fellowship).
- f) Explore the *Sadhu* type of ministry.

*What do we say to missions and to Western Christians?*

With open arms we welcome more and more foreign missionaries to come and work in Asia. In countries where there are political restrictions, we welcome missionaries who are technicians, doctors, professors, agricultural and industrial experts and such like. There was unanimous agreement that missionaries are welcome to Asia, as partners and co-laborers.

## RESOLUTIONS

*A Findings Committee was appointed, and it presented resolutions which were passed by the Conference. Among them were the following:*

A visit to Communist China to meet the Lutherans there should be undertaken, if possible. The officers of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches should be asked to implement this.

The Venue of the Third Asia Lutheran Conference: Malaya, Hong Kong and Indonesia offered to invite the next Asian Conference. The Continuation Committee in consultation with the Department of World Mission was authorized to determine the place and time of the next conference.

A Continuation Committee was appointed to carry on the work of this Conference and plan the next conference. The following members were named: The three presidents: Rev. Chitose Kishi, D.D., President of the Japan Lutheran Theological Seminary; Rt. Rev. Rajah B. Manikam; Mr. A. M. Tambunan, Deputy Speaker of Parliament of Indonesia; plus one to be appointed by the church in Taiwan and Dr. Fridtjov Birkeli.

The Conference requests the Lutheran World Federation Department of World Mission to undertake the publication and distribution of the report of this Conference.

The Conference requests the Lutheran missions from abroad, through the Department of World Mission, to open up work in Burma in close fellowship with the local Lutheran churches in Rangoon.

The Conference requests the United Lutheran Church in America, through the Department of World Mission, to send missionaries to Malaya to work among the Tamils and the Telugus as they do for the Chinese.

## Marangu 1955

(A report on:

MARANGU: A RECORD OF THE ALL-AFRICA LUTHERAN CONFERENCE, *Marangu, Tanganyika, East Africa, November 12-22, 1955. Geneva: The Lutheran World Federation, 1956. 691 pp. \$ 1.50.*)

Marangu has made history. The Le Zoute Conference on "The Christian Mission in

Africa" held in 1926 was far more widely representative and more systematic in its work. But it took place in Belgium. Marangu is the first all-Africa conference to be held on African soil. This is of particular interest to me, for I have been urging since 1948 that the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council should jointly organize a regional conference for Africa south of the Sahara. The answer has always been that there is no real unity in this vast region, that it would be too expensive, that the time has not yet come, and so forth. The Lutherans have stolen a mark on the rest of us. Marangu has triumphantly shown that such a conference is: a) possible, b) a good thing. Already there is talk of a similar conference in perhaps five years time; I earnestly hope that this conference may be held, but that it may be a genuinely all-Africa conference, and fully inter-church and inter-mission.

Marangu was a great event. But its limitations should be recognized. It should be called rather the All-Lutheran Africa conference. Many territories were represented; but there was no one from the Gold Coast, the most advanced territory in tropical Africa both politically and educationally; nor from the Belgian Congo, where Christianization in the very heart of the continent is going forward with such splendid rapidity; nor from Kenya where the churches are wrestling with all the problems of a multi-racial society; nor from the Portuguese territories, where the churches are faced with the difficulties of work in an unsympathetic Roman Catholic environment. We have so much to learn from one another that a wider range of representation could only do good.

It must be admitted that the records of the Conference as set forth in this book are not very exciting. Too many subjects were dealt with without adequate preparation; the discussions were inconclusive. The resolutions are mostly rather jejune, and the messages could have been written by any competent church leader in his study without ever making the journey to Marangu. But this is not surprising. We know from long experience that the important thing about such a conference is not the formal records and resolutions. The great thing is that a group of Christians of many races and tribes met and lived and thought



and played and prayed together in the presence of God. Anyone who takes such a conference seriously goes away a changed man. The first attendance at such a gathering is an epoch-making event. I have no doubt that all the African delegates went home sobered and encouraged and heartened by all that they had lived through, and that the results of Marangu will be seen over many years as visions and ideas are translated into realities in the life of the churches.

I draw attention to certain points that have specially struck me in the reports.

There was naturally a good deal of discussion of doctrine and the place of the Lutheran confessions in the life of the church. But I missed an adequate recognition of the place of the Old Testament in the building up of a younger church. We do not indeed know exactly how the Old Testament ought to be used in teaching, but there can be no doubt of its value especially in the early stages of church life. Luther was surely right in holding that God meets every man both as Law and as Gospel.

All the bodies represented appear to be wrestling with that disastrous dichotomy of mission and church which ought never to be allowed to arise. If we start with the mission, we make almost impossible from the start the natural development of the church. We must begin with the church. If there are only six Lutheran missionaries and three African Christians in Ovamboland (I speak parabolically; happily there are a great many more), those nine on the very first day must constitute themselves the Church of Ovamboland, of which the missionaries are only servants. The constitution may be left as flexible as you like. But the moment an African is converted there must be a church into which he can be incorporated as a member, and not a mission of which he becomes a dependent. No lesson in mission history seems to me clearer than this. Down with missions!

An Anglican cannot but be interested in the passion of the African leaders for episcopacy, a passion which some of the non-Africans seemed to find disconcerting. Personally I find it most natural. We are new in the second century of Protestant missions (in most areas — third in a few). We seem to be reliving the experience of the churches in that mysterious second

century of which we know so little. I do not for a moment imagine that those early churches adopted episcopacy on the basis of any theory. They saw in it an instrument which God had given them for the maintenance of the unity and the continuity of the church. Having adopted it they then worked out the theory. All over the world of the younger churches a similar process seems to be going on. The churches seem to feel the need of a man whose task it will be to maintain the unity of the local churches, and to serve as their permanent point of contact with other churches in the field, with home boards, and with the wider ecumenical movement. It is to be hoped that difficulties will not be put in the way of this aspiration of the African churches, and that not too many heads will be shaken if those churches accidentally acquire the apostolic succession!

There was some talk about cooperation with other churches, but in my opinion not nearly enough. This is a matter of supreme urgency. If I am asked whether any one church can from its own resources provide the higher theological education in Africa for which the African churches are rightly clamoring, my answer based on my observations in Africa will be an emphatic No. This can be done only cooperatively. Experience in other lands shows that such cooperation is possible and fruitful without church union. I would put this as priority number 1 for all the African mission fields.

A most valuable part of the volume before us is the series of short statements on conditions and growth in the various Lutheran fields in Africa. I have read these with the greatest interest, and would gladly have had them longer. I do not think that anyone could read attentively what is said for example about the northern Cameroons, about Ethiopia, and even about parts of Tanganyika, without realizing that the needs of the African churches for missionaries, so far from being limited as we have often been told to a few technicians and experts, are really for hundreds and thousands of men and women who will undertake pioneer work in the as yet unreached regions, and stake out the claim of the church before it is too late, before these still untouched areas are lost to Islam or to secularism. Here is an urgent task for all the churches. If only I was thirty years younger than I am!

*Stephen Neill*

## From the Mission Work of the Missouri Synod in India

The work of the Missouri mission in India has been in existence for 62 years and has experienced vigorous growth, especially in the last 25 years. The Missouri Lutheran church in India today has a total of 295 congregations with over 26,000 baptized members, of whom over 10,000 have been confirmed. These congregations are served by 90 native pastors, 102 catechists, 8 evangelists and 25 Bible women. The church's 93 schools in which 300 teachers are active, enroll over 11,000 pupils. A seminary, two teachers' training schools and a deaconess motherhouse serve to educate those preparing for full-time work in the church. In these institutions there are at present 120 men and women in training. The mission hospital in Ambur serves both the physically and mentally ill.

The mission area comprises the three districts of Ambur, Nagercoil (Tamil-speaking) and Trivandrum (Malayalam-speaking). The congregations in the area of Ambur have formed a synod, and there is hope that a similar synodical organization may be formed in the other areas in the next few years. There is hope then that in the future general conferences Indian pastors and laymen too will participate as voting delegates and help to lead the work of the church.

The 30th convention of the General Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Churches in India [Missouri Synod] took place January 8-11 at Ambur, South India, and 36 missionaries and 9 Indian Christians took part. Representatives of the Indian congregations were present for the first time as consultants and took part in this capacity in the discussions in the most important committees.

Of the two chief papers read at the conference, one was by Missionary Andrew Fritze on "The Doctrine of Holy Communion" and the other by Missionary Luther W. Meinzen on "Principles and Methods of Evangelism for Church Workers and Laymen". Among the resolutions passed by the conference the following are of special significance:

1. Discussions should take place with the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran

Churches in India towards the strengthening of doctrinal unity.

2. The agreement which the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India made last year at Bangalore with the Church of South India on the doctrine of Holy Communion is viewed as not satisfactory. The General Conference wishes therefore to open immediate discussion with the doctrinal commission of the Church of South India on the doctrine of Holy Communion.

3. In 1956 in Kodaikanal, Lutheran missionaries of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India and of the Missouri Synod shall be invited to free discussions on the present situation of the Lutheran churches in their relationship to the Church of South India.

4. The Conference understands that because no agreement has been reached on doctrine and practice it is not possible for the Missouri Synod to become a member of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India. Nevertheless it is of the opinion that cooperation in external matters is necessary and recommends such cooperation also to the mother church in the United States.

*Samuel G. Lang.*

## *World Council of Churches*

### **The World Council Executive in Australia**

The semi-annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches took place for the first time in the southern hemisphere this past February at Gilbulla, near Sydney, Australia. Its previous session had been in connection with the meeting of the larger Central Committee at Davos, Switzerland, last August.

The Central Committee, elected by the Assembly in Evanston 1954, is the governing body of the World Council between Assemblies. The Executive Committee is made up of 21 members elected by the Central Committee and includes the Presidents of the World Council and the Chairman and Vice-chairman of the Central Committee.



Those present at the six-day meeting included Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, President of the United Lutheran Church in America and Chairman of the Central Committee and therefore Chairman also of the Executive Committee; Dr. Otto Dibelius, Bishop of the Church of Berlin-Brandenburg and President of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKiD), one of the seven Presidents of the World Council; and Dr. O. Frederick Nolde of the United Lutheran Church in America, Associate General Secretary of the World Council and Director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. President Martin Niemöller of the Church of Hessen-Nassau had hoped to attend but was prevented at the last moment.

## I

One thing was evident: the Australian public was made aware of the existence of the World Council of Churches and the ecumenical movement as a whole. Through a series of public meetings in the larger Australian cities both before and after the Executive Committee meeting and culminating in the "Festival of Faith" held at the Sydney Showgrounds, the leaders of the World Council had the opportunity of witnessing to Christ, the one uniting fact amid all the diversity of confession and tradition embodied in the World Council. As General Secretary Dr. Visser 't Hooft has remarked, the Executive Committee was placed in the situation of acting as an "evangelistic team".

In so doing, there was need to explain the basis, purpose and activities of the World Council to the public. This was especially necessary because, as usual, the "International Council of Christian Churches", under the leadership of Dr. Carl McIntire held parallel meetings, the main purpose of which was to discredit the World Council and its leaders. His meetings were small and many among his audiences attended out of curiosity. Bishop Dibelius came under attack for having had an audience with the Pope before coming to Australia, and President Niemöller for having accepted an honorary degree from a theological academy in Hungary. But the primary target was Prof. Hromadka, described as "that 20th century Judas Iscariot" because of his connections with Com-

munist in his homeland, and some of these meetings at which he spoke were almost broken up by immigrant groups.

There was an evident lack of understanding for the difficult position of the World Council in having in its membership churches from countries of varying political attitudes and having in its leadership persons who, though confessing and witnessing to the same Lord, take divergent positions in varying political situations.

The responsibility of interpreting the World Council to the Australian public naturally involved certain political overtones. It was but natural that state and national officials, including cabinet ministers, should take more than a mere passing cognizance of the presence of prominent churchmen from all parts of the world. And the very agenda of the Executive Committee contained points whose clarification to the public could not exclude the political realm. Among these were the relevance of the report of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs and the Division of Studies' proposed survey on the areas of rapid social change.

In this way Australia's "white" immigration policy became a matter of discussion as well as the question of the role of Australia and the Australian churches in the development of the countries of Southeast Asia. The seminar, held at the University of Melbourne, on "Australia and the New Nations of Asia", chaired by Dr. Nolde and attended also by members of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia, was symptomatic of a fact described by Dr. Visser 't Hooft as Australia's discovery that it is related to Asia.

Australian support for the program of the Division of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees prompted Dr. Fry to commend the host country for being so generous in accepting European refugees, a factor that is greatly strengthening the two Lutheran churches in Australia.

The Australian setting of the Executive Committee thus points up a general fact about the church: it is not, and cannot be divorced from the world. Rather it is *in* the world, witnessing to Christ and serving men in his name. One must be aware of the political context of such witness and service, though the task of the churches is not to delineate a political program.

## II

This was especially illustrated by the number of *ad hoc* situations and issues to which the Executive Committee gave consideration. One of the most important of these was to endorse and confirm action taken by the General Secretariat of the World Council on behalf of the Greek Orthodox Christians of Turkey whose churches were devastated as a result of the anti-Greek riots over Cyprus last September.

The Executive Committee expressed its sympathy to the Patriarch of Constantinople and the members of the Greek Orthodox church in Istanbul, endorsed the action of its officers, the General Secretariat and the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs in granting interim relief and calling for adequate compensation and guarantees against the recurrence of such events. The timely action of the World Council has helped to strengthen fraternal ties with the Orthodox world.

Two weeks before the Executive Committee was to meet and during the time when most members of the committee were on their way to Australia, the Spanish authorities closed and sealed the Protestant Union Theological Seminary in Madrid. The Executive Committee instructed the General Secretariat and the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs to take all appropriate steps to secure continuation of the theological seminary and passed the following resolution:

"Deeply disturbed by the news that the Protestant Theological Seminary in Madrid has been closed by the action of the Spanish authorities, the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches protests against this most serious infringement of religious liberty which at the very time of Spain's entrance into the United Nations contradicts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principle of respect for the rights of religious minorities."

In addition, the Executive Committee chose to speak to the question of ethnic and racial relations, particularly in regard to the situation resulting from the decisions of the United States Supreme Court on segregation in the public schools. In a unanimous resolution the Executive Committee welcomed the action of the Supreme Court, commended the positive leadership

being given in this matter by the National Council of the Churches of Christ and giving encouragement to those seeking to carry out the decisions of the Court. In doing so the resolution referred to previous statements of the World Council, particularly those made at the Evanston Assembly, and called the action of the Supreme Court "a significant and heartening step towards the realization of equal rights for all men without distinction as to race and color," assuring "all our Christian brethren who are involved in this difficult situation that in the solidarity of our Christian fellowship we hold a common belief in the equal dignity of men in God's sight."

## III

The meeting was concerned with many budgetary, financial and administrative questions, and many questions on program and planning, such as a further extension and definition of the work of the Division of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees especially in the area of the younger churches and the possibility of organizing another conference on the problem of the Palestinian refugees.

One of the most interesting questions involved the whole problem of the ecumenical movement and missions, especially as it relates to the younger churches of Asia. July 1955 saw the creation at Hongkong of the "Asia Council on Ecumenical Mission" aimed at bringing an "ecumenical approach" to missions. The question before the Executive Committee was the relation of this new organization to the World Council and the International Missionary Council, especially to their joint East Asia Secretariat. Plans had been made to hold a consultation in Bangkok in March 1956 to discuss the issues involved. The Executive Committee agreed that the consultation be "advised to consider in the first place the possibility of widening the scope of the East Asia Secretariat so as to include the interchange of churchworkers," (one of the chief aims of the Asia Council), and that "consideration be given to the establishment of a representative council of Asian churches to assist the East Asia Secretariat." In point of fact, the consultation did consider this along with other possibilities of relating the three agencies, but decided that the Asian churches themselves be asked to decide the



question and that for this purpose a meeting be called in early 1957. This issue is certainly one of vital significance to the Lutheran churches in the area.

Also of significance was the planning reported by the Department on Church and Society of the Division of Studies, concerning its "principal work", the study on "Our Common Christian Responsibility toward Areas of Rapid Social Change", toward which Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. of the U.S. has donated \$100,000. The study is now just beginning and issues and areas of work are being defined. It was pointed out that the theological aspects of the study would depend upon the particular facets of social change being considered.

One of the projects of the Division of Studies described to the meeting is a "Study on Christians and the Prevention of War in an Atomic Age: a Theological Discussion". It was reported that Sir Thomas Taylor, Principal of the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, has accepted the chairmanship of the commission on this study, which, as the report of the Division stated, "will have to explore the problem of whether modern war is a controlled means of policy or whether it is in fact uncontrollable and if so in what ways and under what circumstances; the question of the threat of the use of modern armaments as a deterrent to war itself; and the far reaching consequences for Christian ethics of these matters." It is planned to hold the first meeting of this commission in Europe this September.

The issue of whether the Executive Committee intended to express its opposition to the testing of nuclear weapons was raised by Bishop Dibelius on behalf of President Niemöller in connection with the report of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. Dr. Nolde indicated that the Commission's policy was, in such matters, to view each separate aspect of disarmament within the total picture rather than to endeavor to get political action on one particular detail. Dr. Nolde had maintained in public meetings preceding the Executive meeting that the H-bomb could not solve the problems created by the conflict with totalitarianism and that Christians could never take the stand that they should seek to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity over the Marxist faith by a show of atomic strength.

Perhaps the biggest problem confronting the Executive Committee was the choice of a theme or themes to be given special attention at the Central Committee meeting this summer. At the last meeting of the Central Committee it had been decided to hold this year's meeting in Hungary. There seemed to be some question as to whether American citizens would be allowed by their government to travel to Hungary because of the strained relations between the two countries. There was also a question as to whether free access of the press would be granted. There seems to be hope, however, that details can be worked out, but it was decided that in any case the existence of these problems would not be cause to change the place of the meeting.

There were a number of possibilities suggested as themes: "The Lordship of Christ over the Church and the World", which could provide a contribution to one of the consultations planned by the Division of Studies; "Proselytism and Religious Liberty", a necessary subject for the World Council to clarify, involving as it does points at issue between some of its own member churches; and a revised form of the Toronto statement on "The Church, the Churches and the World Council of Churches", being of particular concern to the Orthodox churches. These were proposed by a group of the executive staff. In addition, Hungarian leaders had asked Prof. Hromádka to request that the main theme be "The Prevention of War in an Atomic Age", a highly controversial formulation in the light of the different political concepts of peace and the use of atomic weapons.

All of these, apart from the one dealing with the ecclesiological significance of the World Council of Churches, present points of discussion between the church and the world. The only problem confronting the Executive Committee was to insure that the conversation in Hungary would be an encounter, but not degenerate into a political prize fight, and that the context of the conversation be kept clearly in mind: the fellowship together in the church. It was finally agreed that the revised statement on "The Church, the Churches and the World Council of Churches" be given to a sub-committee of the Central Committee and not be treated as a theme, and that the two themes be "Proselytism and

Religious Liberty" and "The Churches and the Building of a Responsible International Society". Prof. Hromadka, on the other hand, was assured that there would be ample opportunity to consider the prevention of war under the second theme and in connection with the discussion of the expected report of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs on disarmament.

The Central Committee therefore will be meeting in Hungary this August. The churches and the world will be awaiting the outcome of its deliberations as they did those of the Executive Committee in Australia. What will be the effect of the Hungarian situation on the Central Committee? What will be the impact of the Central Committee

on Hungarian life? Will there be real contact with the Hungarian churches? Will the Lutheran representatives get to visit Bishop Ordass, for instance? Other doubts and questions arise. But as the church cannot be shut off from the world, so also the world cannot ignore the witness of the church.

The meeting of the Executive Committee in Australia helped to interpret the being, purpose and function of the World Council of Churches to the Australian churches and public. Perhaps the two Lutheran churches in Australia, neither of which is a member of the World Council, have had the opportunity of closer contact with the ecumenical movement and its witness and have been drawn closer to it.

*Paul E. Hoffman*



# FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

## North America

### "Minneapolis 1957"

It is interesting to note that the inter-church movement since the first decade of the twentieth century has been intimately associated with specific cities and years. Merely to mention *Edinburgh, 1910*, or *Eisenach, 1923*, or *Stockholm 1925*, or *Oxford, 1937*, or *Lund, 1947*, or *Hannover, 1952*, or *Evanston, 1954* is to bring to mind great world assemblies of Christians whose gatherings were reverent attempts to express the unity of those who are in Jesus Christ. It is reasonable to expect that within the next eighteen months another name and date will have been added to the growing list: MINNEAPOLIS, 1957.

#### The Place

The decision to hold the Third Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in the U.S.A. was greeted with enthusiasm by American Lutherans, many of whom had been present at Hannover in 1952 and had experienced the inspiration and great emotion of joining with fellow Christians from every continent in a confession of their common faith. At this moment thousands of American Lutherans are looking forward to the Assembly in Minneapolis, where hundreds of people are already working on local preparatory committees.

When the 700 delegates and official visitors of the Assembly are joined by the tens of thousands of non-official visitors at Minneapolis, August 15-25, 1957, they will find themselves at the center of one of the largest concentrations of Lutherans on the North American continent. From the 1830's and 1840's large numbers of Lutheran immigrants from Germany and Scandinavia began settling in the fertile and potentially wealthy Mississippi Valley. As a part of the "Great Settlement" came the church, and as the church came, so the motto (*Ecclesia Plantanda*) of "the Patriarch" of American Lutheranism, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (d. 1787) began to be realized on a large scale.

Today, after a century has passed, the Upper Midwest, as the North Central states

are called, has become in some ways a Lutheran area. The children of penniless immigrants have, under God, risen to positions of responsibility in the realm of politics, industry, agriculture, education, and not least, in the church. At the center of this region is a large metropolitan area known as the Twin Cities. The "Twins", St. Paul and Minneapolis, stand astride the Mississippi River, "the Father of Waters", and together embrace a population of over 1,000,000. St. Paul is often described as a Roman Catholic city with the Irish and Germans as predominant ethnic strains. However, it is often forgotten that there is also a large percentage of Lutherans in St. Paul's ecclesiastical population, and these people are showing great energy in laying plans for 1957. Minneapolis, on the other hand, is often described as Protestant and Lutheran with large numbers of Swedes and Norwegians who have given a distinct ethos to the city. It is here that most of the sessions of the Third Assembly will be held. A complex of buildings including the Minneapolis Municipal Auditorium, which seats 10,000 people, Central Lutheran Church which has one of the largest Lutheran church buildings in the U.S.A., and the Minneapolis Vocational High School which is located across the street from Central church, will provide the chief facilities for worship, for plenary sessions and discussion groups, and for the evening programs at which thousands of visitors are expected. A new stadium and sports field will provide space for the 50,000 who are expected to attend the final rally.

#### The Program

The theme, under which the Assembly will carry on its deliberations and to which the reflections of delegates and visitors alike will be directed, is "Christ Frees and Unites". This means that lectures, discussions, public events, and services of worship will all seek to expound in some way the freedom and unity which is ours in Christ.

When the Commission on Theology and the LWF Executive Committee formulated and announced the theme, it was a result of long deliberation on the question of Christian unity and church fellowship.

Recognizing that previous ecumenical conversations on this subject seldom got beyond the concept of the church as held by each ecclesiastical tradition, our Lutheran theologians, looking forward to Minneapolis, 1957, concluded that a new beginning must be sought. Instead of seeking a point of departure in ecclesiology, it was deemed potentially more fruitful to begin with Christology, or the second article of the Creed. To emphasize that Jesus Christ, true God and true man, has delivered men from the guilt of sin, the power of death, and the tyranny of Satan, seemed to the Commission on Theology the proper starting point for Christian unity and fellowship. Justified by faith, men not only possess peace with God but also the only solid basis for unity. Men are made free by Christ not in order to become independent, autonomous individualists, but members of his Body, the church. *Men are made free to be one.* With this understanding of the Gospel, therefore, the LWF will face the ecumenical problem of the present moment, with the theme: "Christ Frees and Unites".

Although the Commission on Theology and its Department have kept in mind the particular problems of all the member churches of the LWF in selecting the theme, the American churches at this moment will perhaps see in it a direct challenge to them. Those who are familiar with American Lutheranism will know that the majority of congregations are found in two large groupings, the National Lutheran Council and the Synodical Conference. The church bodies associated with the former are all members of the Lutheran World Federation. The churches of the latter, chief among which is the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, are outside the LWF. It is especially significant that, as these words are being written, serious discussion is going on within the Missouri Synod regarding LWF membership. Should this great body of Lutherans decide to join the LWF, it will mean that it will also be drawing closer to the National Lutheran Council. Thus, the LWF theme for 1957 becomes existential as far as the two large groupings of American Lutherans are concerned.

Moreover those who know the American situation are aware that at this moment there are union negotiations being conducted by groups within the National Lutheran Council whereby hitherto independent

churches are seeking to express their common Lutheran confession in closer organizational unity. In other words, earnest self-examination and profound stirrings are taking place among the American churches, and it is altogether possible that the Holy Spirit will use the theme of the Third Assembly to quicken *broader and deeper insights into the nature of that unity which grows out of Christian freedom.*

In order that the theme may be fruitfully discussed before and during the Assembly, study helps are currently being prepared. The Commission on Theology is just completing a document which will be placed in the hands of the member churches, their delegates and official visitors, theological professors, pastors and others. Moreover, in order that the congregations of member churches may benefit from a concerted study of the theme, the LWF Executive Committee has urged that study pamphlets be prepared and circulated among the congregations. This, we understand, is already being done in Germany. The American churches, through the Division of LWF Affairs of the National Lutheran Council, will be supplied with a similar congregational study pamphlet in September, 1956. It is hoped that pastors and people throughout the United States and Canada, guided by a prepared outline, will center their Bible study, parish programs and devotional life during the months before the Assembly in the theme, "Christ Frees and Unites". The blessings which will accrue to the congregations and to the Assembly directly and indirectly will be beyond measure exceedingly rich.

*Worship* will have the central place in the Assembly. In the services of praise, prayer and thanksgiving which will begin and close each day of the Assembly, delegates and visitors will experience the reality of Christian fellowship, exhibiting in their corporate worship the first-fruits of the theme which has engaged their attention as representatives of their churches. Beginning with the festive opening service and continuing throughout the eleven-day convention, pastors and laymen will be given many opportunities to join one another in worship. For example, the congregation of Central Lutheran church in Minneapolis is sponsoring a communion service before the opening plenary on Friday morning, August 16. Moreover, on succeeding mornings during the Assembly at 8 o'clock the Holy



Communion will be celebrated. Provision for informal prayer meetings each day will be made in the chapel of the church. Of course, each session of the Assembly will begin with Matins and the day will close with evening prayers. On the two Sundays of the Assembly visiting pastors will be asked to preach in the congregations of the Twin Cities and the surrounding area, their preaching places to be assigned by a local committee. The Federation hymnal *LAUDAMUS* is being republished in a revised edition under the direction of the local Committee on Worship and the LWF Commission on Liturgy.

The proclamation of the Word of God by some of world Lutheranism's great preachers will be at the center of each service. This, together with the richness of Lutheran musical and liturgical tradition and the variety of devotional practice, will inform each hour of worship at Minneapolis with the sense of freedom and unity.

*Plenary Sessions and Discussion Groups* will have as active participants only the 700 delegates and official visitors. Arrangements, however, are now under way to permit spectators to view the Plenary each day from the balconies of the Auditorium where sessions will be held. This means that each morning the departmental reports and the lectures on the theme may be heard by several thousand people. Each afternoon beginning at 3 o'clock the delegates and official visitors will be assigned to discussion groups for simultaneous consideration of the five sub-topics of the theme. At the end of the week a message, based upon conclusions reached in the plenary lectures and the discussion groups, will be prepared as a consensus of the Assembly on the main theme.

In this way, the pre-Assembly study document and the Assembly's own deliberation on the theme will provide helpful guide-lines for future ecumenical conversations.

*The evening public events* are being planned to engage the interest of the local congregations and Assembly visitors as well as the official delegation. Programs featuring great music, pageantry, and inspirational addresses are calculated to bring the message of the Lutheran church dramatically before the public. Of special concern is to depict as vividly and effectively as possible the work of the Lutheran church

throughout the world. To this end, achievements and hopes in the areas of inter-church aid, world service, stewardship and evangelism, world missions, and international affairs are to be portrayed. In addition, the first Sunday evening will be marked by a great "Festival of Hymns", which will seek audience participation as well as performances by Lutheran choral and instrumental groups. The latter have contributed generously to American religious and cultural life and have been justly acclaimed as artistic bearers of the Lutheran tradition of fine music.

Another musical event, the details of which are still in preparation, will take place mid-week and perhaps be in the nature of a formal concert by an internationally known musical group.

The final week-end, August 24 and 25, will bring tens of thousands of visitors to the Assembly. Saturday night a youth rally is expected to draw 20,000 young Christians together in a mass renewal of their commitment to Jesus Christ. The next day the young people will be joined by forty or fifty thousand adults and children in the final rally which will remind many of the concluding event at Hannover in 1952. As the Third Assembly draws to its close thousands of voices will join in reciting the Apostles' Creed and singing *A Mighty Fortress is Our God*. This event in which Lutherans of 57 churches in 29 countries unite in confession of their common faith should be a moment of great emotion and an experience of profound religious resolution.

*Special occasions* will be interspersed throughout the days of the Assembly. For example, on the opening day the Rotunda of the State Capitol in St. Paul will be the scene of a formal reception for the delegates and official visitors. The following evening the U.S.A. National Committee of the LWF will be host at a banquet to which the President of the United States, the Governor of Minnesota and the Lutheran Governors of other states, and the mayors of the Twin Cities will be invited. Each day during the Assembly opportunity will be provided for special interest groups, e. g. deaconesses, musicians, theological professors, missionaries, *et al*, to meet together. Organ recitals, special concerts, and films will offer moments of relaxation during the busy days. An exhibits hall, open

to visitors at all times, will have displays depicting the major activities of world Lutheranism. Moreover, simultaneous with the discussion groups, which will be closed to all but the official delegation, there will be a special program for non-official visitors through which the issues of the plenary and the problems of Christianity in this modern world will be interpreted in a popular way for the large number of local, out-of-state, and perhaps even foreign visitors who will be spending longer or shorter periods of time in Minneapolis.

Recognizing the needs for some free time in the midst of an exhausting schedule, it has been determined that Thursday afternoon and evening, August 22, will be kept open for rest and relaxation. Should the delegates desire to visit nearby church institutions, go sight-seeing, or fish and swim in some of Minnesota's 10,000 lakes the opportunity will be at hand during the free time.

This, then, is a survey of the preparations and the program which await those who will be attending the Third Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation. Much careful planning, many energy-consuming actions, daily prayers, and sturdy Christian faith characterize those who are even now giving themselves to the task of making the Assembly an eloquent testimony to the belief that the Holy Spirit "calls, gathers, enlightens and sanctifies the whole Christian church on earth". Undergirded by this confidence and dedicated to the conviction that "Christ Frees and Unites" his people, "MINNEAPOLIS, 1957" will soon become a part of the ecumenical vocabulary and join that reverent company of assemblies which, since "Edinburgh, 1910", have sought under God, to exhibit their belief in "one, holy, catholic and apostolic church".

E. Clifford Nelson

## Revolution and Reconciliation

### *An Evaluation of the 17th Quadrennial of the Student Volunteer Movement*

Reverberations from the recent Ecumenical Student Conference on the Christian World Mission, sponsored by the Student

Volunteer Movement at Athens, Ohio in the United States, are being felt throughout America's colleges and universities. Conferees' reports to local Christian student groups evoked responses that varied from astounded rejection to repentant commitment to such claims that "Jesus Christ is the Reconciler of the world" and that "God is the Lord of history".

The Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) began in the United States in 1886. For over half a century, the SVM, an autonomous, interdenominational student movement led largely by students and persons active in the Y movements, has worked to call students into fellowship to study and rethink the Christian mission. The ringing motto, "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation," illustrated the SVM call to active Christian mission commitment. Today the SVM is the Commission on World Mission of the United Student Christian Council, the American section of the World Student Christian Federation and a part of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The SVM has sponsored seventeen conferences on the mission of the church, usually at four year intervals; hence, the conference name, SVM Quadrennial.

In evaluating a conference of such dimension as the recent Quaderennial, it would be easy to dwell on the week itself, the vast number of students who attended, the cosmopolitan representation (about 1500 non-Americans and 1800 American students), the real encounter of student by God and of student with student in the 190 Bible discussion groups, and the ringing declarations of faith and commitment by platform speakers. In the opinion of this lay student-worker, what real effects have been produced by the week's encounter with "Revolution and Reconciliation" can be determined only in the light of several questions raised by the conference. The implications of the conference for the Lutheran student movement in America also involve evaluation in terms of these pointed questions.

*Is Christ the Lord of history?* Speaker after speaker declared affirmative answers to this question. He is the creator and sustainer of life, the judge of people, nations and cultures. Individual students in countless study groups and forums witnessed to the activity of God in history



and in contemporary life. Students agreed that how God acts today is harder to determine than how he has acted in the past. Nevertheless, the mission of the church is to witness to God's judging and reconciling activity. The church and each Christian must constantly confess and pray, "Thy will be done".

Lutheran students reexamined the supposedly Lutheran quietistic or "hands off" attitude of the church in domestic and international affairs. We Lutherans in America readily confess that God is creator and sustainer of life, as well as judge of people, nations and cultures. Yet how much do we really understand about our nation, our people and our culture? And how willing are we to mess with the dirty business of really grappling with the false gods of our contemporaries? Many Lutheran students at Athens looked critically at our Lutheran conformity to middle-class ideals and prejudices. Will our American Lutheran church be able to include these aroused young students into its seemingly complacent life? Are we willing to repent of our complacency and often blind-folded view of the world and its needs?

*Is Christ the only real hope of the world?* Probably many students at the conference were strengthened in this commitment or "converted" to it. Undoubtedly many conferees in witnessing to this faith met with well-meaning doubts from students on their home campuses. I venture to say that in raising this question and saying "Yes" to it, many students have experienced in a painful way the task of witnessing. The comparative religion approach, the "tolerance" that says all religions "lead" to God, the unwillingness to cause offense is very prevalent on our campuses. What is judgment? What is hell? What is sin? What is salvation? Is Christ or is "love thy neighbor" the reconciling force available to mankind? Students are asking these questions.

Many of the Lutheran students at Athens were quite familiar with the theological phrases describing man and God. We can be grateful for confirmation and Christian education. Yet sin, evil, justification, sanctification, etc., are just noble phrases for many Lutheran students. Some complain that local pastors won't listen to or attempt to answer their doubts and questions except by quoting creeds and phrases. Lutheran students will succumb to criticism

of "stiff-necked particularism" if our church does not increasingly meet our students' questions with honest consideration. Students want constant rearticulation of our theology about God's mighty acts in clear cut terms, relevant to daily life and experience. We cannot just hide behind our credal affirmations and think that we have accomplished our witness.

*Are United States students provincial in their understanding of the world and of contemporary problems?* Many of the overseas students at the conference said, "Yes". Many Americans said, "Yes", too, while others bristled somewhat at the suggestion. Is the United States embarrassed in her new role as a super power? Are our Christian students willing to tackle the huge task of becoming intelligently literate and responsibly prophetic about the role of the United States? Why do other peoples suspect American motives? The call to Christian vocation to be responsible citizens rang clearly at Athens.

I wonder how many Lutheran students at Athens quoted Luther on the vocation of the maid sweeping to the glory of God! Yet, I know several who were struck by God's call to them to be *students* and who shamefacedly admitted that they seldom took time from their studies to read a good newspaper. Perhaps we Lutherans have avoided social action long enough. How many of our people feel called to be responsible citizens? How many of our students feel called to be responsible political and community leaders?

*Is the day of white rule over?* Most students at the conference seemed to agree that white rule is fast waning and that this aspect of the "revolution" in our day is good. The trend from "foreign missions" to "world mission" of the church was hailed as a sign of hope. To hear non-white missionaries from eastern countries tell of their work among people in other eastern countries was a new experience for many American students. The implications of the present status of Negroes in America in terms of the world mission of the church caused much painful reflection on the part of American students.

We Lutherans, also, were forced to look rather painfully at our own record of integrated congregations. Many discussions of the change from "foreign mission" to "world mission" bogged down to discussion

of the race situation in the United States. Nevertheless, many Lutheran students seemed to grasp the significant change from white domination of the world to the appearance of new influences. If this student radicalism does not dim after college years, our mission boards and local missionary societies can expect to hear some surprising points of view.

*Is the church willing to seek unity?* The distressing fact of denominational particularism cut into the heart of discussion. Most evident was the fact that many of these students at Athens had little understanding of their own denominational heritage coupled with prejudiced ideas of other denominations. Ecumenical ventures in overseas mission activity were generally lauded, but many students were baffled by ecumenical responsibility in their home countries. Nevertheless, a spirit of humility and willingness to repent of hide-bound particularism pervaded the conference scene. Will this student generation be willing to tackle the arduous task of seeking unity by first understanding its own heritages under the judgment of the Gospel?

Athens was a good illustration of the fact that in the student world the Lutherans find themselves trying to keep their precarious balance, being humble yet courageous witnesses to the Gospel, and yet not subtly self-appointed leaven in the dough of American Protestantism.

*What is the church?* Here is the real question, closely related to the previous one. The present student generation seems to be taking the church more seriously than recent student generations have done. Here, too, is a sign of hope. Here, too, is the crux of the ecumenical question. Do the "churches" hide behind creeds? Why was the unity of the Athens conference blasted (or its basic diversity made evident) in the closing service of Holy Communion by the non-participation of some individuals and portions of denominational delegations? About thirty percent of the Lutherans who attended the conference communed in a service apart from the one offered by the local Episcopal diocese. Were these Lutherans stiff-necked (as was avowed by certain voices in the United States religious press) or should Protestants in America and around the world search into the differences surrounding the communion offered in the Lord's Supper? Undoubtedly this is a "both-and" problem.

Campus pastors and counselors constantly—not just at such conferences as the Quadrennial—find themselves on the "frontier" of the church in terms of ecumenical relations. Will our American Lutheran church not only allow such pioneering in the university world but also take the time to study and understand the day-to-day rubbing of denominational shoulders in the university? The students register all varieties of ecumenical attitudes. Are we prepared to give them any guidance? Questions were raised at Athens. But real seeking and commitment were evident.

The new concept articulated at Athens was "world mission" and not "foreign missions and my own backyard mission". "Go ye into the world" rang loudly and clearly to students called to be part of the people of God, his church. And the church is not just white, or American, or Lutheran, but all who repent, believe, and know that God has called them in Christ. Modern technology has forced us to see the whole world, but this student generation as represented at Athens has realized that God has always called his people to himself, forging them into his global community, his church.

*Ruth Engelbrecht*

## Sweden

### On Religious Liberty in Sweden

Religious liberty as defined by Article 18 of the United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* exists in Sweden only since January 1, 1952. But this liberty is by no means only the history of a radical legal reform about the middle of the twentieth century. It is much more the end result of a development which can be traced in the legislation of the last two centuries, and in the course of which Sweden emerged out of an original and long-standing religious unity to arrive at the present situation which can best be characterized by an expression of Archbishop Brilioth's that it is a "broken culture". This centuries-long religious unity explains also why the question of religious liberty was not forced upon the Swedish legislators at a much earlier date, as was the case in countries where rival religious groups existed side by side.



## Religious Unity and its Dissolution

The Swedish people had, even in pagan times, a religious unity that found its visible expression in the famous pagan temple at Uppsala which, before the Christian missionaries came, was a kind of national gathering point. It is true that St. Ansgar was granted safe-conduct when in the year 830 he travelled to the commercial town of Birka in order to preach Christ there. But his mission was only an isolated event and when in the 10th century a larger number of missionaries began to work in Sweden they met with a hard and bitter resistance in the national paganism, to which the many martyrs' legends from the first centuries of the christianization of Sweden testify. When the church had gained dominion in the land she too adopted the methods of force. Teachings which deviated from the doctrine of the church were not tolerated and even on Swedish soil the fires of the stake were kindled.

The Lutheran Reformation which was introduced by the diet at Västerås in 1527 was also by nature exclusive. It was, however, primarily economic motives which moved King Gustav Vasa (d. 1560) to carry out the Reformation. He needed the landholdings and gold of the church for the completion of his work of national liberation, but in order not to provoke the indignation of the people he avoided taking any strong measures concerning forms of worship and church practices. All the more thoroughgoing then were the measures which the orthodox Lutheran church leaders took towards the end of the 16th century against Roman uses and popular superstition which had survived till then.

The national and religious unity which had grown out of the Reformation found its clearest expression in the Council of the church at Uppsala in 1593. In view of the threat from the Counter-Reformation as the possible consequence of a current throne dispute, representatives of the church gathered at Uppsala and there declared the *Confessio Augustana* to be the doctrinal foundation of the Swedish church. It is told that the chairman of the Synod emphasized the importance of this historic decision with the words: "Now Sweden has become one man and we all have one Lord and God."

"Unity in religion and true worship" became a constitutional principle. The Church

Law of 1686 required, in addition, that subjects of the kingdom of Sweden must confess Christian doctrine and the Christian Faith that is founded on the Holy Scriptures, formulated in the ancient creeds and the *Confessio Augustana* and laid down in the so-called Book of Concord. Heterodox practices were forbidden under penalty. In accordance with the view here sketched, religious liberty was granted only to emissaries of foreign states, their families and servants and foreign merchants and craftsmen who had settled in Sweden. Swedish subjects, however, were not allowed to take part in these church services held by the foreigners.

By resort to the law the attempt was also made to counteract suspect religious movements whose spread among the people was looked upon with disapproval. Thus in 1726 the so-called *Konventikelplakat* or Conventicle Edict was published, aimed chiefly at pietism, which forbade all private religious gatherings that could not be construed as family devotions.

But the spread of trade and commerce which took place in the 18th century led to a certain natural relaxation. In the year 1741 all foreigners of Anglican or Reformed confession who had come to Sweden were granted the right to free exercise of religion. This right was extended in 1781 to all those who had immigrated to Sweden and adhered to another Christian religion and from 1782 this right was applied also to those of Jewish faith. But despite these developments Swedish subjects were still forbidden to take part in other church services and converting to another religion was punishable.

Nevertheless, the philosophical ideas concerning society, developed under the influence of John Locke and the French Revolution, also reached Sweden. The new constitution which was adopted in 1809 and which, in partially revised form, is still valid today, prescribed in Para. 16 that the King should "not coerce or allow coercion to be exercised against a man's conscience, but rather guarantee protection to every man in the free exercise of religion, insofar as thereby the public peace is not disturbed nor general offense provoked."

This religious liberty proclaimed in the constitution, however, gained practical realization only very slowly. Thus, according to the same constitution(!) only those who confessed "pure Evangelical doctrine" could be named to public office. Civil law

as yet recognized no form of marriage other than that of the church, and in schools religious instruction continued to be obligatory, with Luther's Small Catechism being the basic textbook. When, finally, the first steps were taken toward practical realization of religious liberty, in accordance with the paragraph of the constitution quoted above, the driving forces behind them were the revival movements within the church itself which have so deeply effected the character of spiritual life in Sweden to this day. The adherents of these movements felt the prohibition of conventicles to be unbearable constraint. In the year 1858 the time was ripe at last for the raising of this prohibition. Also at this time, under the influence from abroad, Methodists and various kinds of Baptists entered Sweden. In 1855 the law forbidding participation in other church services was repealed and from 1860 it was permissible to withdraw from the church and, with royal permission, to form special congregations which, however, had to have a Christian confessional basis. But withdrawal was so limited by numerous formal prescriptions that the ordinance in question can hardly be called tolerant.

Constitutional changes in 1870 made it possible also for other Christians, as well as adherents of the Jewish religion, to fill government offices, except for cabinet ministers, clergymen, teachers of religion and judges who had to make decisions in ecclesiastical disputes.

### The Ordinance of 1873

In 1873 a new ordinance was decreed which for the next 50 years was to regulate the legal status of all "those holding another faith". By this ordinance withdrawal from the Swedish church was made much easier. Withdrawal was supposed to be possible only on condition of entering another Christian group. However, as far as we know, a check never took place as to whether this actually happened.

In the law of 1873 a number of conditions were laid down by which denominations other than the Swedish church could receive state recognition. According to the ordinance, such recognition gave, as a consequence, the right to "public exercise of religion". However, it cannot be substantiated that in practice any distinction in this

respect was made between those with state recognition and those that had not applied for it. State recognition could mean, though, that the clergy of such a denomination had the right to perform marriages and that members of such a congregation could be absolved of part of the otherwise obligatory church tax.

Children of parents who had withdrawn from the church could be granted exemption from the religious instruction in the schools, according to the ordinance of 1873, provided that they received instruction privately from a person of the parents' choosing.

Only a small number of religious groups made use of the possibility of gaining state recognition. It was chiefly those denominations whose members were primarily foreigners, for example, some French Reformed, Anglican, Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox congregations. It must be pointed out that the large native free churches, as for example the Swedish Mission covenant (*Svenska Missionsförbundet*), the Swedish Baptists (*Svenska Baptistsamfundet*), and the Salvation Army (*Frälsningsarmén*), did not seek state recognition. On the radical free church side (for example, in Baptist circles) the position was taken that the state should have nothing to do with religious life.

A still more characteristic feature of this stage of Swedish religious liberty was the fact that the members of the Swedish free churches did not seek to withdraw from the Swedish church. In some cases the reason might have been that the members of the free churches, for example, wished to become teachers. Since teaching included giving instruction in religion a teacher had to belong to the Swedish church, at least formally. (Anything other than this proof of formal adherence was not required.) In other cases members of the free churches did not want to rob themselves of the possibility of having influence upon local parish life by withdrawing. Anyone who had withdrawn no longer had the right to vote in decisive elections for ecclesiastical office. The result, therefore, would have been that many ardent Christians would have lost their right to vote, while active ideological opponents of the church in some political parties, by reason of their formal adherence to the church, could obtain ecclesiastical office for their candidates, something moreover, which they



did not hesitate to do. In view of such a situation, many members of the free churches saw it as their most important task to bring Christian influence to bear in the ecclesiastical elections. Many may never have felt the Swedish church to be a rival religious fellowship to their own group. It is more likely that they viewed the church as a branch of Swedish state administration which cared for the Christian education of the people. Then there was certainly a large group of dissenters for whom the question of withdrawal never really became a vital problem. Although the ordinance of 1873 still meant a quite strong formal limitation of religious liberty, the majority of those who belonged to the free churches no longer had the feeling of being oppressed.

### The Introduction of Civil Marriage

By a law of 1880 the possibility was given to those who had not been baptized or received communion according to church order to be married before the civil authorities. In the succeeding decades several proposals were made in parliament which were intended to broaden this privilege. However, it was only after the request to extend the right of civil marriage was raised also on the part of the church — at the synod of 1903 — that the efforts led to positive results. By a law which became valid in 1908 it became possible for all citizens, without exception, to contract civil marriage. To be married by the Swedish church or other denomination was only permissible when both of the parties belonged to that particular church. (Today it is enough if only one of the parties is a member.)

### The Development until the Legislation of 1951

The years around 1910 brought an ecclesiastical self-consciousness and led to a clear awareness on the part of church members of the peculiarity and the special calling of the church. The clergy of the 19th century had been inclined—not least because of the influence emanating from the political philosopher Christopher J. Boström (d. 1866)—to view the church as a function of the state, as “the state organized for religious activities”. Now, however, a

new understanding forged itself a place, seeing in the church something independent. The theologian Einar Billing (d. 1959) was the leading representative of this new understanding of the church expressed in the concept of “the religiously motivated folk-church”. According to this understanding, the church is an expression of the universal grace of God and directs her message to the people as a whole. She is not given the right to set up special conditions for the membership of the individual. She cannot be an association of exclusive character. On the other hand, in her striving for universality she dare not make any concessions which should obscure the religious and Christian character of the church. She is obliged to carry out her work without the support of coercion by the state. The unrestrained right of the individual to withdraw from the church is for the church herself a religious necessity, for the church cannot be exclusively a function of the state.

This view was developed in a proposal which the Swedish bishops laid before the synod in 1929 and which aimed at broadening the right to withdraw. The demand for facilitating withdrawal from the church had been raised in parliament at regular intervals since the 70's of the last century, with the only result that Parliament in 1909 asked the King to let an official report on the question be prepared. It was not until 1927 that such a report was presented and it led to no practical measures. Even the proposal of the bishops (1929) led to no immediate result, but it was important as a clarification of the position of the church in this question. The problem of unlimited withdrawal from the church found its solution only in the law on religious liberty which went into effect Jan. 1, 1952.

### The Legislation on Religious Liberty of 1951

By this legislation for the first time in Sweden provisions became valid which guaranteed to each individual complete religious liberty in the sense of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. The law gives everyone the right of free exercise of religion (Para. 1), of participation in religious assemblies and forming religious associations (Para. 2), as well as the right to

hold public services (Para. 3), insofar as public order is not disturbed. It is also prescribed that membership in a religious denomination shall not be obligatory (Para. 4). The prohibition which had existed since 1781 against the founding of convents was abolished. (The last provision was the only essential point which aroused some opposition in the debate in parliament.) The law, however, stipulates that convents may be established only with royal approval and according to the conditions set up by the crown and that no one may be admitted to a convent before reaching the age of 21 (Para. 5).

The second section of the law regulates membership in the Swedish church. The position of the church as a national church is not affected by the new law. The law, in this respect, is to be considered in detail below. The close tie between state and church remains intact. However, from now on, the law on religious liberty allows everyone, as he may desire, to withdraw from the church.

According to the wording of the law membership in the church is obtained by birth when at least one of the parents belongs to the church (Paras. 7 and 8); foreigners of Evangelical Lutheran faith obtain membership as soon as they acquire Swedish citizenship (Para. 9). Special application can be made, however, by a person in an individual case to prevent these provisions from taking effect. The person wishing to become a member of the church has to announce this to the pastor of his home congregation (Para. 10). If he can show that he is baptized in accordance with the order of the Swedish church he can be received into the church. The same is true if he has received instruction in the doctrine of the church, taking into consideration his age and other circumstances, and if he gives oral assurance in front of the pastor that his desire to belong to the church is a serious religious concern.

It may appear peculiar that here a type of reception into the church is recognized that consists in a mere registrational procedure and does not presuppose Baptism. The explanation for this situation is to be sought in the fact that when the law was passed there were persons who juridically belonged to the church though they were not bap-

tized (*e.g.* unbaptized children of parents who had not withdrawn from the church) and that in view of these circumstances one did not wish to make Baptism the legal condition for entrance into the church. The formulation of this paragraph gave occasion for various criticisms on the part of the church. It must be pointed out, however, that this concerned exclusively the juridical regulation of church membership. Those who formulated the law took into consideration that the pastor concerned will point out to all to be received into the church the great significance and importance which the church attaches to Baptism. Of course the church views Baptism as the prescribed way of reception into church fellowship, but the church knows that as a folk-church she also bears responsibility for her unbaptized "members". (According to the statistics of 1930, of every thousand church members 20.5 were unbaptized, of whom 8.06 were over 15 years of age.)

The person who no longer wishes to belong to the church can withdraw by making this known to the pastor of his home congregation (Para. 11). According to the law withdrawal is completed as a mere registrational procedure. The reasons for withdrawal need not be presented and the pastor concerned is supposed to withhold all discussions at this time and not attempt to influence the person withdrawing. There were certain proposals that provided for a written declaration of withdrawal. These proposals, however, were rejected by those who formulated the law since it was feared that in such a case the declaration of withdrawal might be a result of undue influence. In oral form, however, it is thought that there is the guarantee that the person withdrawing is acting independently and deliberately. For children under 18 the announcement of entrance into or withdrawal from the church is to be made by the legal guardian. If the child has reached the age of 15 his consent must also be presented (Para. 12).

Withdrawal from the Swedish church means being exempted from paying 40 % of the church tax every citizen must pay. The remaining 60 % is considered as covering the expenses entailed in the civil administration in the hands of the pastors and persons employed in the church offices for registration purposes (the registry of births, deaths, etc.).



Withdrawal also means loss of the right to vote in ecclesiastical elections and the right to marriage and burial in the church.

Members of Jewish congregations, as a result of an older law, could only withdraw from their synagogue by becoming Christian and thus be free from paying the tax for the Jewish congregation. The law of 1951 introduced a change insofar as now the right exists freely to withdraw also from Jewish congregations.

In connection with the passing of the law on religious liberty, a possibility is opened for the clergy of denominations other than the Swedish church—both those already granted legal recognition by the state and others—to receive the right to perform legally valid marriages between members of their denomination. This permission of the state applies personally to the individual clergyman and state recognition of the denomination in question is not required by the new law.

Denominations other than the Swedish church can receive royal permission to arrange for the religious instruction of the children of their members in place of religious instruction in the schools. Pupils in this case are exempted from the religious instruction of the school. Such permission has been granted to the Roman Catholic church and the Jewish congregations. The only condition is that this instruction be open to supervision by the school authorities, be of the same standard as that which takes place in the schools, and that the pupils be given a certificate concerning their participation in such instruction. In this way the state is meeting the demand to provide every citizen with a certain measure of religious instruction.

The pupils who do not participate in the religious instruction of the schools do not receive any marks in this subject. However, marks based upon their standards in other subjects will be put to their account so that they compete on an equal basis with their schoolmates.

After changes in the constitution which took place in 1953 there remains in effect only a very small number of former constitutional provisions according to which "pure Evangelical doctrine" or belonging to another Christian (or Jewish) denomination is required as the basis for filling various state offices. Henceforth the King

and the Royal House must be of Evangelical faith, as well as the cabinet minister responsible for ecclesiastical affairs and, of course, all who hold clerical office in the Swedish church. State officials and judges who have withdrawn from the church do not have the right to participate in decisions concerning church affairs. In filling professorships in the theological faculties and the position of teacher of religion in the schools the creed of the applicant must be taken into account. But belonging to a religious group other than the Swedish church need not necessarily be an obstacle for someone who wishes to be a teacher.

### The Present Situation

The new legislation, the contents of which have been presented here, was received with general satisfaction for it meant that the principle of the religious freedom of the individual had found final recognition also in Sweden. The practical consequences of the law, however, proved to be substantially less than one would have imagined. Fewer than 0.5 % of the church members—according to statistical reports from 6 of the 13 Swedish dioceses—have made use of the right to withdraw. The Jewish congregations have shown no decrease in membership. Since the Swedish free churches together embrace about 325,000 members—about 4.6 % of the total population of Sweden—that means that the vast majority of members of the free churches continue to belong to the Swedish church, at least formally. A certain lack of clarity has thus arisen. Should the free churches be looked upon as independent religious denominations, or merely as associations within the church which devote themselves to edification and the work of Inner Mission?

The legislation of 1951 resulted in no change in the constitutional status of the Swedish church. The Swedish state continues to be, in principle, an Evangelical Lutheran state. Parliament and the courts begin every new year of activity with a service celebrated according to the order of the Swedish church. The King announces yearly four Sundays of prayer and the Scripture passages prescribed as sermon texts for these occasions are published

verbatim in the *Svensk Författningssamling* (the Swedish law bulletin). Instruction in the schools continues to be opened with morning prayer. Although the religious instruction given in the schools has taken on a neutral and "objective" character, nevertheless, knowledge of the order of service and the hymnal and prayer book of the church is required.

On the other hand, however, the Swedish church is dependent for her effectiveness upon the necessary collaboration of certain organs of the state. The land and capital of the church are administered by the state. Changes in organization and constitution of the church demand the concurrence of the crown (*i. e.* of the government), parliament and the synod.—A small example may show how this dependence on the part of the church can be felt as a painful restriction. The last three synods have asked for the appointment of student pastors in the four university towns. Because of opposition in one of the houses of parliament, the first such proposal did not meet with success and so the recent proposals have not moved the government to place the question before parliament again.—Fully conscious of this situation, the church during the last decades has developed her own organizations for voluntary church work. More and more often the demand is raised from church quarters that church and state be separated. However, so long as the state does not take any openly hostile attitude toward religion the responsible men of the church hesitate to take a step which would mean a radical change in the position which the church has had for centuries in the life of the Swedish nation. The danger of losing the present-day possibilities for proclaiming the Gospel to the nation as a whole is greater than the difficulties which have resulted till now from collaboration with the state. Within the church, however, one is thoroughly conscious of the fact that a reconsideration of the present relationship to the state can become necessary.

To sum up, it can be said that all the inhabitants of Sweden,—with the exception of a small number of state officials to whom special constitutional provisions apply—enjoy full religious liberty in the sense of the United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* since 1952. Religious denominations in Sweden have

full freedom to organize and to form their life in accordance with their own principles with no other limitations than those caused by the requirements for keeping public order and the special rules for the establishment of convents mentioned above.—Only the Swedish church finds her freedom limited by the necessary concurrence of organs of the state.

Göran Göransson

## Spain

### The Position of Protestantism in Spain

The closing by the police of the Protestant Theological Seminary in Madrid, which took place January 23, has again drawn the attention of world publicity to religious circumstances in Spain. Spanish Protestantism has a total of not more than 30,000 members, that is, 0.01 % of the total population. To be sure, this is only an estimate, since there are no exact figures available from the Protestant or the state side, for the Protestant congregations shun written records of their lists of members, while the state does not recognize any withdrawal from the Catholic church. It is also to be noted that the estimated total of 30,000 includes all Protestant groups existing in Spain. Besides several small but very active sects (Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh-Day Adventists), it primarily involves three church groups of roughly the same size, which, however, have hardly any connection with each other: the Baptists, the Darbyists and the *Iglesia Evangélica Española*, which is closely connected with the Anglican *Iglesia Reformada Episcopal*, comprising only a few congregations, and which has been a member of the World Council of Churches since 1948. All these church groups can be traced back to foreign mission work, which became possible for the first time on Spanish soil after the revolution of 1868. Influences from Switzerland, Germany, France, Holland, Great Britain and North America alike were all active and produced the multiplicity of church and confession which we find in Spanish Protestantism today. There is no doubt that in this work



Calvinistic, presbyterian and congregational elements took the lead, as was recently made clear again in the confession of faith adopted by the synod of the Iglesia Evangélica Española in 1953. Yet the founder and for many decades the leader of German evangelization work in Spain, Pastor Fritz Fliedner (d. 1901), helped to establish the influence of Lutheran thought also by means of the translation of Lutheran writings and hymns, the observation of the church year and the publication of a biography of Luther; this influence has been effective in the life of this church right up to the present time.

Up to the outbreak of the civil war there existed comparatively far-reaching religious freedom for Protestants, but since the victory of the Franco régime in 1939 all this has undergone a fundamental change. Protestant schools were closed, the church press, youth work and all diaconal activity forbidden, the printing or importation of Bibles and hymnals prevented, the holding of services and meetings of church organizations made difficult and not infrequently obstructed. There were even raids on chapels and disturbances of worship services. At the same time, according to Article VI of the Spanish constitution of July 18, 1945, in spite of the exclusive position given to the Catholic faith, the protection and exercise of non-Catholic faith would seem to be theoretically guaranteed, so long as no public propaganda is undertaken: "The confession and exercise of the Catholic religion, which is that of the Spanish state, enjoys official protection. No one may be molested on account of his religious conviction or in the private exercise of worship. Public ceremonies and demonstrations other than those of the Catholic religion are not permitted." Whereas, for historical and political reasons, the Moslems and Jews living in the Spanish union are treated extremely generously, in regard to Protestants this statement is narrowly and willfully interpreted and manipulated; in this the relations of Spanish Protestantism to foreign churches weigh heavily in the balance. From this it is clear that not only religious, but also to a considerable extent political motives play a role, because in fact the average Spaniard, following his historical tradition, regards Catholicism and the nation as absolutely identical. Falling away from the Catholic faith there-

fore seems to him a sin against the spirit of the nation and an attack on the national unity of the people. The constant political accusations brought against Protestants must be seen against this background.

For the individual Protestant in Spain the restraints imposed upon him make themselves felt not only in public defamation and insults but also in very tangible encumbrances in his life as a citizen. This is true above all in regard to marriage, the education of children, and burial. Although until 1931, under the monarchy, civil marriage without further formality had been possible for all who did not profess the Catholic faith (in the republic civil marriage was compulsory for everyone), the situation has now become very much more difficult, in that, according to the Concordat of August 27, 1953, as a rule only those who have not been baptized as Catholics are regarded as non-Catholics, since baptism is supposed to confer a *character indelibilis* which is supposed to make separation from the Catholic church impossible. Thus only those who are unbaptized, not those who have become Protestant through conviction, can be allowed civil marriage. If in spite of this Protestants refuse to submit to canonical marriage, they expose themselves to the risk of having their marriage and their children counted as illegitimate. Only in a few cases has it been possible to obtain civil marriage for Protestants baptized as Catholics.

The situation is not much different in regard to Catholic religious instruction, which is a compulsory subject in all state and private schools. Article 27 of the Concordat does say: "The children of non-Catholics may be exempted from this instruction if their parents request it". But in practice Protestant children can withdraw from this instruction only with difficulty, since Catholic religion is an obligatory examination subject in which a satisfactory mark must be shown. We mention only in passing the fact that the burial of Protestants, in regard to both place and form, is attended by despicable difficulties.

To this chain of oppression and prejudiced treatment a new link has been added in the recent closing of the theological seminary in Madrid. At the same time it remains a mystery why the government should have taken measures against the

theological seminary at this particular moment. The further development of the affair has failed to make matters any clearer. It can only be assumed that ministerial decisions of such a kind are dependent on the internal political situation of the moment. One gains in any case the impression that in spite of agreement on fundamentals there is, even in the Catholic church of Spain, by no means full unanimity concerning the proceedings against the Protestants. The official reason given for the closing of the seminary, which took place in fulfilment of an order drawn up by the Ministry of the Interior on November 28, 1955, was the absence of state approval. Later further reasons given were the alleged political record of some of the teaching staff of the seminary, and the coeducation of youth, which is not permitted by Spanish law, in the boarding house for students attached to the seminary. None of these reasons has a convincing ring, it must be admitted, since the seminary has worked quite openly under the eyes and with the knowledge of the Spanish authorities for the past nine years.

It may be of interest to give some more detailed account of the history and work of the institutions in question. The theological seminary was originally founded by the continental mission of the Irish Presbyterian Church in 1883, in Puerto Santa Maria, near Cadiz. After the removal of the seminary to Madrid in 1928 and the broadening of its basis through the participation of several missionary societies, it served until the civil war for the training of theological students for the Iglesia Evangélica Española and the Iglesia Reformada Episcopal. In 1947, with ecumenical aid, it was able to reopen in the building of the former Protestant high school "El Porvenir" in Madrid. The average number of students was 12-14, but at the time of closing there were in fact only 8. Attached to the seminary was a boarding house in which lived 24 young people. Six of them attended the theological seminary, the others the university or other places of education in Madrid. The subsequent order to vacate the boarding house within 15 days was not, however, carried out. On the other hand, the elementary school likewise had to be closed. It was situated in the seminary buildings, and was attended, apart from some pupils living in the boarding house,

by some 40 children of Protestant families in Madrid.

The reaction to this measure in non-Catholic world opinion was unusually strong. The Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches adopted at its meeting in Gilbulla, Australia, on February 7, a resolution which reads: "Deeply disturbed by the news that the Protestant Theological Seminary in Madrid has been closed by the action of the Spanish authorities, the Executive Committee of the World Council protests against this most serious infringement of religious liberty which at the very time of Spain's entrance into the United Nations contradicts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principle of respect for the rights of religious minorities." The General Secretariat and the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs were instructed by the Executive Committee to take all appropriate steps to "secure continuation of the theological seminary which performs an indispensable service for the Spanish Protestant churches." Apart from this, several diplomatic representations have been presented officially or unofficially to the Spanish government in order to effect the suspension of the measures which have been imposed. Above all, Spanish Protestants themselves have, by means of several petitions to competent government quarters, protested against the manifest proscriptions and obstructions of their church work.

Various signs indicate that a general relaxation of the situation can be hoped for. Whether indeed the seminary and the school will in the near future receive state approval for their reopening and the continuation of their work must remain a matter of conjecture. A fact that is proving embarrassing is that since several ministries are involved there is unlikely to be a prompt and unequivocal clarification of the case. In addition the government is being very cautious, in view of the present tension in the internal political situation. And by no means least to be reckoned with is the extraordinary sensitivity of the Spaniard towards any interference by foreigners in Spanish internal affairs. Of course, even in government circles there must no longer be any doubt that the recent incidents connected with the theological seminary in Madrid could not but be detrimental to Spain's prestige in the world.



The Catholic press outside Spain has asserted that the ban on the theological seminary is exclusively an internal Spanish affair, resting on the infringement of Spanish laws, with which the Catholic church is not in the least concerned. Seen superficially, that may be so, insofar as the direct collaboration or responsibility of the Catholic church is meant. But it must be said just as clearly that an authoritative word from the side of the Catholics would certainly have contributed to the clarification of the situation. It is not only in Spain that one has waited in vain for such a word. It should certainly not be overlooked that isolated Catholic voices in France, Great Britain and the United States have frequently before this interceded for freedom of conscience in Spain. In any case the recent events in Madrid have come at a time when they are likely to assume fundamental significance outside the borders of Spain for the relationship with Roman Catholicism.

Hanfried Krüger

## Poland

### The Introduction of a New Order of Service and a Common Hymnal

As early as World War II a group of Evangelical Lutheran pastors and theologians came together to begin preparation of a new order of service for the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Poland. Among them was the professor of practical theology of the Evangelical Theological Faculty of the University of Warsaw, Dr. Karl Midejda who died towards the end of the war. The provisional result of this independent theological work was an order of service differing from the usual forms of service in Lutheran lands and churches by offering liturgical material from the primitive church, especially from the *Didache*, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, including them in the communion liturgy. This liturgy, expanded and provided with suitable prayers both in the Preface and the Post-Communion, was "experimentally" introduced in some of the city congregations. This new order was welcomed by

most of the pastors as well as by many of the members of the congregations and so it has been taken up into the new service book almost without change. The synod of the church delegated the continuing task of working on the order of service to a liturgical commission consisting of six members under the chairmanship of the undersigned. As the basis for creating a unified order of service we used primarily the proposed order of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany, taking into consideration, of course, our native Polish tradition. After many years of basic work and testing and after official approval, the new order of service has appeared and has been recommended to the pastors and congregations for general introduction.

In addition to the expansion of the communion liturgy already mentioned, a change has also been introduced in the Service of Preparation for Holy Communion — which as a rule ought to take place the day before receiving communion — aimed particularly at the larger congregations which are not so scattered and where such a preparatory service the evening before is not confronted by difficulties arising from the fact that people have to travel great distances to the church. The preparation has the purpose of awakening and deepening the consciousness of sin on the part of the person going to confession and of encouraging the original Lutheran practice of private confession instead of limiting it to a general confession often repeated without thought. In the Order of Confession itself the psalms of penitance are to be said responsively by the pastor and the person going to confession. The Sunday service is made a unity, being both a preaching and communion service. This relationship is supposed to be maintained in those congregations where Holy Communion is celebrated every Sunday. The Apostles' Creed is to be said aloud by pastor and congregation, as has been customary, at the conclusion of the opening liturgy before the sermon hymn. In the third article, in place of Luther's expression "Christian" Church, the actual translation "a Holy Universal Church" has been restored. The eschatological aspect of the communion liturgy, uniting the *ecclesia viatorum* with the *ecclesia triumphans* ought not to go unmentioned. It finds its most effective expression in the plea following the celebration of communion: "Come quickly,

Lord Jesus". In addition to the unified service whose high point is reached in the celebration of the Holy Communion, the new service book brings a second shortened form of worship without the celebration of Holy Communion for small scattered congregations that cannot be served every Sunday. The part of the service book containing collects and prayers is provided with an ample selection of opening and closing prayers as well as general prayers for all the Sundays and festivals of the church year as well as prayers in the form of *prospohnesis* [groups of intercessions] and *ektenia* [the form of the Bidding Prayer]. For the children's service, which is combined in many congregations with the religious instruction of school children, two different forms are provided, one with and one without catechetical instruction, including opening versicles and fifty-two short prayers for opening and closing worship.

A second part of the service book contains the liturgical forms of worship for Advent, Christmas, Lent, Good Friday, Reformation and the Commemoration of the Dead, and morning and evening services. In a third part are included the proposals for the pastoral acts prepared by the liturgical commission and recommended for provisional use but which have not yet officially been adopted.

In the very near future a common hymnal for the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession of our country will appear. It will take the place of the regional hymnbooks in use in the different areas of the church. Alongside the new service book, it will be a bond of unity for our scattered congregations.

O. Krenz

## Central America

### Visitation in Latin America

The visitation which the author made under the auspices of the Lutheran World Federation, through Mexico, all of Central America, Colombia and Venezuela, was no official ecclesiastical act.

Just as the Lutheran World Federation itself neither exercises nor claims ecclesiastical authority over the churches associated

with it, so its Committee on Latin America, under the leadership of its Director, Dr. Stewart W. Herman, renounces for itself all ecclesiastical authority. Therefore my trip was a visitation in the truest sense of the word: a fraternal visit after the pattern of the early church, in order to help serve the congregations and their pastors with the Word of God and personal pastoral care. However, in so doing, I obtained at the same time a general view of the congregations and an insight into their special problems.

### A general view

At the end of the last world war, in the total area visited by me there was but one congregation and one pastor: the German Evangelical congregation in Mexico, with its minister, who had served the congregation for many years, but for a time during the war had to keep himself hidden, and died tragically a year and a half ago, just as he was preparing to visit Europe once more. There had also been up until the outbreak of the war a German Evangelical pastor in Caracas, Venezuela, for a longer period of time, and also for a short time one in Guatemala.

Today there are altogether 21 Lutheran congregations of varying sizes with ten pastors, to which number at least three others are to be added in the foreseeable future. This totally changed situation, which has altered so much just in the last four years, is primarily the result of the initiative of Dr. Herman, who was assisted for a time in organizational matters by a Swedish clergyman, Pastor Kastlund. A closer look reveals the following picture:

#### Mexico

After the death of Pastor Fraustadt, Pastor Kastlund, who was to gather a Scandinavian congregation together, also temporarily served the German congregation. Meanwhile the congregation, at the suggestion of the Foreign Office of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKiD) to which it is affiliated, has called a new pastor. At the same time, however, the German congregation has put itself under the care of the Lutheran World Federation, and is prepared to work together in church fellowship with the growing Scandinavian congregation. Therefore Mexico is a prime



example of a congregation holding fast to the ties it has with its own home church and still being able to become a member of the worldwide fellowship of the Lutheran World Federation. In doing this, in fact, it has done what the majority of Lutheran churches in Germany have done.

Because of the outstanding significance of the capital for the whole country, the stress will have to lie in the work in *Mexico City* itself. The German congregation already numbers about 1500 persons, and with intensive work it could doubtless be considerably increased. In the framework of an overall Lutheran congregation, the task would then be to build up a Scandinavian group within it, and perhaps one day, especially here, an American one would follow. With united forces and the aid of the Lutheran World Federation it has been possible to realize the desire for a congregational center with its own church — something that the German congregation alone had not been able to do — so that there is now the possibility of really fruitful work.

From *Mexico City*, even now the small independent congregation in *Puebla* with about 25 families is being served. Undoubtedly, even more groups in Mexico could be gathered together, especially in *Monterrey*. But since the new German pastor must devote his whole concern to the congregation in the capital, it would be advisable to send a younger pastor or vicar to assist him, to be primarily an itinerant pastor, so as to gather and serve the scattered Lutherans in other parts of the country.

#### *Central America*

Central America is, to a large extent, a new area for Lutheran congregational work. To be sure, there were German pastors in Guatemala temporarily in the 'thirties, but the activity of the one was more political than pastoral and therefore it has left behind a not altogether good impression. That is one of the reasons why a small but very active group of the congregation called a pastor of the Missouri Synod into the country after 1945, for which reason the work of the Lutheran World Federation is being made additionally complicated. But since in the capitals of the four other countries, German Lutheran congregations, though

not very large, have been gathered together the sending of a German pastor for Central America is one of the most urgent tasks of the Committee on Latin America for the northern part of its area. This pastor must not be too young, because of the somewhat difficult and varied inner condition of the congregations, nor too old, because of the very strenuous task of an ever itinerant pastor.

There have always been Germans in *Guatemala*. Therefore here, too, an Evangelical congregation could develop. During the war the Germans, some of whom were quite well-to-do, were almost completely dispossessed, regardless whether they were of German or Guatemalan nationality. Up to the present Guatemala is still legally at war with Germany, so that theoretically even German language services are impossible. In the meantime many Germans have emigrated. But there are still so many that it could be estimated that there are about 1000 Lutherans in urgent need of pastoral care. Only a few families attend the German services of the Missouri congregation. But that the others are not unresponsive to pastoral concern is shown by the attendance at a service at the American church conducted during my visit, at which more than 100 members of the congregation were present. In *Costa Rica* there is a small but very active circle of Lutherans interested in the church which is already concerned about building. In the capital, *San José*, there are about 100 families, and in the vicinity perhaps as many again. Services are being held in the Anglican church and religious instruction is being given by two women of the congregation. In *San José* there is a Protestant language school which is also of significance for Lutheran pastors being sent to Latin America since it would be possible to appropriate Spanish for the purpose of instruction and preaching. Here there is also the "Faro de Caribe", a Protestant radio station over which Lutheran services could be broadcast in German or one of the Scandinavian languages. The congregation in *San Salvador*, capital of *El Salvador*, could undoubtedly be the third largest in Central America. Services are held here in a Baptist school, and a woman of the congregation here, too, gives religious instruction, with 21 children being enlisted. Undoubtedly a large number of very open-hearted people live here,

people with whom a real congregation could be built up. In contrast to Guatemala, El Salvador is especially Germanophile.

*Honduras and Nicaragua.* The small congregations, which one might better call congregational groups, in *Tegucigalpa* and *Managua* present a contrasting picture to both of the larger congregations in *Guatemala City* and *San José*.

*Honduras* is by far the least developed country of Central America. That can be observed everywhere in the capital, *Tegucigalpa*. *Honduras*, too, is still in a state of war with Germany, for the same reason as *Guatemala*. However, even here there are well over two dozen families, and the service, even though held on a week-day evening, was quite encouragingly attended.

*Managua* is undoubtedly the hottest capital of Central America. The tropical heat is a heavy burden for the person at work and makes "congregational life" difficult. Nevertheless, at a week-day evening service there were 21 members present, of which number 18 were men!

#### *Columbia.*

In *Columbia* there had never been a Lutheran congregation or Lutheran pastor. Therefore what has taken place in the course of but a few years is so much the more astonishing. The birthplace of Lutheranism here is to be found in *Cali*, the rapidly expanding industrial city situated between the two western Andean chains. A young German pastor, driven here, began on his own to work among the German Protestants. Today, under the auspices of the Lutheran World Federation, he is serving not only the congregation of about 250 persons in *Cali*, but also the one in *Medellin* with over 100 members, and the smaller congregational groups in *Pasto* and *Manizales*, all in the western part of the country. There is only one congregational center: a parsonage, church and a contemplated parish house in *Cali*. Thus the German congregations and Scandinavian congregation which have also been formed here as well as in *Medellin*, have the opportunity for a healthy church life.

In *Medellin* the services are being held temporarily in an indigenous Protestant church and the facilities of an American Lutheran mission are being made available to the congregation. In *Pasto* and *Medellin*

the congregations gather in the homes of the members. In the eastern part of the country the emphasis in our Lutheran work lies in the capital, *Bogotá*. The congregation gathered till now is probably almost as large as the one in *Mexico City*. But since the members of the congregation had been completely cut off from pastoral care, congregational life is only slowly beginning to develop. However, it has been possible to obtain property for a church, parish house and parsonage with the help of the Lutheran World Federation. Two pastors, the younger of whom is a Swiss, are serving the congregation. From *Bogotá* the smaller congregational group in *Bucaramanga* is being cared for, for the most part by air from *Baranquilla* where there is a larger congregation with over 100 members. The energetic and interested German congregation, and its sister Scandinavian congregation as well, are able to hold services in a Presbyterian church. Since the number of Scandinavians in this busy port city is relatively large, a Swedish pastor is to take over the care of the whole congregation in the foreseeable future, and from there visit the other Scandinavian congregations of the country, including of course the one already existing at *Bogotá*.

#### *Venezuela.*

The development in this country is the farthest advanced, for it was possible to build upon the tradition of the old German Evangelical congregation which theoretically, though not practically, continued throughout the period of the war and which recently was officially absorbed in the German group of the over-all Lutheran congregation. This consists of a Scandinavian, a Latvian, and a Hungarian group in addition to the German one. There is harmonious cooperation in common responsibilities, and yet there is enough breadth for each group to develop individually. The whole congregation has combined forces to carry out its building program so successfully that the completed parish house with its church hall is already in use, the simple, modern structure of the church is complete and plans are already being made for erection of a parsonage. In addition the German congregation has created a boarding house for school children and the old parish house has been turned into a home for the



aged. The Swedish pastor of the Scandinavian congregation, before entering upon his duties, attended the language school in San José, and when needed will be giving religious instruction in Spanish.

A second, a German pastor, is situated in *Valencia* where he serves a congregation numbering about 250. The parish activities take place in a rented parsonage, and in a small school belonging to the Lutheran World Federation the services are held. Here, as in the 100-member congregation in *Barquisimeto*, property for church buildings has been obtained with the help of the Lutheran World Federation. In *Barquisimeto* the services are being held temporarily in a small house rented for congregational purposes.

The third congregation served by this pastor is completely different from all the other congregations: it is in the government settlement of *Turén*. The approximately 125 members of the congregation are primarily German expellees and others also from the various countries of Eastern Europe. To serve these people, all of whom have had difficult experiences in the past and who still have an uncertain future ahead of them, to give them pastoral care and win their confidence, is a task which the pastor is fulfilling with much sacrifice and devotion. Services and activities alike are being held in one of the houses of the settlement set apart for such use by the government, in which also the pastor and his wife can live during their stay there. Permission for the erection of a church immediately beside one already built by the Roman Catholics has also been granted by the government: something undoubtedly unique for Latin America!

The youngest congregation in Venezuela is in the oil metropolis of *Maracaibo*. Since the beginning of this year it has been supporting its own pastor, a minister from Holland who has worked for many years in Germany and is married to a German — an extremely happy solution, since, in addition to a considerable number of German Protestants there are many from Holland, too, who, till now, could only be served from *Curaçao*. The pastor in *Maracaibo* must, in addition, care for the small congregational groups in the Venezuelan Andes: in *San Christobal*, *Merida* and *Truchillo*.

The pastorate in *Maracaibo* now having been filled, the first stage of the planting of the church in Venezuela has, to a certain degree, come to a close. Perhaps at most one might plan the establishment of an itinerant pastorate in the eastern part of the country. And so in the foreseeable future it is probable that the question of drawing the congregations together into their own synod and thus establishing an independent Lutheran church in Venezuela will be ripe for discussion. Even now the work of the two charity institutions of the German congregation in *Caracas* extends practically over the whole country. Therefore the united planning and carrying out of such and similar work for the whole country, like the placing of deaconesses, teachers, etc., would probably be one of the chief responsibilities of such a synod.

### Visitation

The decisive tasks of the visits grew out of the situation of the congregations. Apart from the three metropolitan congregations in *Mexico City*, *Bogotá* and *Caracas*, everywhere we found small diaspora congregations numbering 20 or 30 up to 200 or 300 persons. These congregations live in an ecclesiastical, cultural and, to a large extent, political environment completely molded by Roman Catholicism. The depth of the mold may vary in degree. *Mexico*, for example, has as a heritage its revolutionary, anticlerical epoch and continues to hold fast to the separation of church and state, whereas the government of *Columbia* sees its strongest support in a militant Catholicism that does not shrink from the most brutal kind of persecution of Protestants. But it is particularly in *Mexico* that Our Lady of *Guadalupe* has almost been made into a national idol, just as it is general in Latin America that Catholicism appears in the guise of a national religion and for that reason loyalty to Catholicism and to the state are gladly identified. Even the anticlerical legislation in *Mexico* is not being administered so strongly as before, so that, for example, from the swamp land of *Mexico City* not only the most super-modern skyscrapers, but also the most super-modern Catholic churches are shooting up everywhere like mushrooms.

Confronting such a crushing Catholic environment there stands an overseas congregation of the old style, helpless, able

only to keep alive by a ghetto-like existence. But it will always lose the second generation that no longer speaks the mother tongue, and its fate will always hinge on the mother church. And therefore two world wars with their paralysis year after year of all contact with the home church have more or less strangled the co-called overseas congregations in Latin America.

The Lutheran World Federation, however, is a world-wide fellowship of churches which need not at all hide behind the Roman Catholic church. That is the reason why the great idea of the Lutheran World Federation pointing to the future is being greeted fundamentally everywhere with joy: to build congregations of the same confession, not of the same nationality. For it strengthens the consciousness of being a member of a large supernational church fellowship, and at the same time, it brings Lutheran Christians into one congregation, when before they passed one another by without recognition. To strengthen the supernational unity in faith and the fellowship with Lutheranism around the whole world was therefore the most prominent purpose of the visitation. Both of these became concrete for the congregations in the person of the visitor.

It is true that various national groups growing together into a united Lutheran congregation can proceed only slowly, and by means of gathering various language groups into an overall congregation, much as the various territorial churches in Germany in the United Evangelical Lutheran Church (VELKD). The most advanced development in this direction has been in Venezuela. For one thing because here the work was first begun, and then also because the rather large immigration of Latvian and Hungarian Lutherans made it especially urgent. Therefore the Lutheran congregation in Caracas, with its four different language groups, each with its own pastor has become almost a model congregation.

The situation is somewhat more difficult in the smaller congregations, where the minority language groups are seldom able to be served in their mother tongue. Nevertheless here also we have advanced to the establishment of united congregations on the basis of confession rather than nationality. At least for the time being all non-German members still under-

stand the preaching of the Word in German. When later, according to need, Spanish could be introduced, first in instruction and then later in worship, then the continued existence of these congregations can be looked upon as assured.

In the other countries the language groups in addition to German are the Scandinavian ones. They are only just beginning to come together and to cooperate with German groups. Many difficulties are yet to be overcome. First of all the language and national differences among the Scandinavians themselves. Then there is the added factor of the reticence of the Scandinavians in relation to the Germans, even of the same confession, as a result of the last war. Therefore it is of decisive significance that from now on Columbia and Venezuela will each be supporting a permanent Scandinavian pastor. Whether the idea of the Lutheran World Federation can be realized in this way will depend on their work.

It is deplorable that in none of the congregations does one stumble upon American Lutherans. The more so because of the fact that it cannot be questioned that the work of the Lutheran World Federation in Latin America rests primarily on the activity of American Lutheranism. The principal reason for this may be the fact that Americans, unlike Europeans, generally remain only a rather short time in Latin America, so that even if they are Lutherans, they usually attach themselves to the local American non-denominational churches that exist everywhere. However, it should be possible, at least in the larger cities, to gather an English-language Lutheran congregation together. For the special color of American Lutheranism must not be missing on the canvas of Latin American Lutheranism now taking form.

Besides strengthening the congregations the visit was supposed to strengthen the pastors. For their task in this part of Latin America, quite apart from all external difficulties, is especially difficult for the reason that they are completely on their own and are seldom given the opportunity to unburden themselves in conversation. The visit created the opportunity for personal discussion and was the occasion for the first conference of Lutheran pastors of different nationality in northern Latin America. The conference took place in



Cali in Columbia and was connected with the consecration of the new church there. The meeting was chaired by Dr. Herman. The participants included the other visitor, Prof. Wilhelm Hahn, who at the same time was visiting all of South America on behalf of the Lutheran World Federation, the two German pastors from Columbia, the Latvian pastor in Caracas, the future Swedish minister for Venezuela who had come from the language institute in San José, and the Norwegian pastor who is serving the German and Scandinavian Lutherans in Ecuador. The problems of strengthening and renewing the existing congregations were discussed, whereby the necessity of a united order of worship was considered and the encouragement of the concept of stewardship was emphasized. Discussion centered also on the missionary task of the congregations with the goal of planting the Lutheran congregations in the soil of Latin America and increasing the use of the Spanish language. We were also concerned with the problem of theological students, since it is hoped to develop an indigenous ministry. In this the newly founded theological seminary in Buenos Aires can play a decisive part. Two theological students are there now from Columbia and Venezuela; and a young German, who grew up in Mexico City and is a Mexican citizen, has just begun his studies at Neuendettelsau. He is undoubtedly the ideal type of Latin American pastor of the future, for he will know both the European and the Latin American, and will be equally able to preach the Gospel in both German and Spanish.

### Outlook

The ultimate goal of all the work of the Lutheran World Federation in Latin America will always be the establishment of indigenous Spanish-speaking churches and congregations, at least, in the areas visited by me. There are two paths leading to this goal.

#### *The path of mission among the population*

Strangely enough, Latin America was never part of the horizon of the German missionary societies. Without doubt they took into account the fact that this vast region had been more or less compelled to become Roman Catholic during the conquest by the Spaniards or Portuguese, and

have remained so ever since. Quite rightly, foreign missions are not usually conducted among Christians. However, the fact is overlooked that this Christianization was and is quite superficial. Moreover, the church made such far-reaching concessions in her usual piety to the existing heathen ideas and practices that we can rightly question whether large parts of the population despite their baptism can be called Christian at all. In addition the Roman church is suffering generally from such a shortage of priests that she does not reach at all a large proportion of the population which she claims for herself, not to mention the fact that there are still wild Indian tribes in the jungles who have not yet come into contact with Christianity.

All these reasons have long moved North American Protestant churches systematically to do mission work in Latin America. Apart from the Missouri Synod, there are two American Lutheran churches, both belonging to the Lutheran World Federation, which are working in the northern part of Latin America: the American Lutheran Church (ALC) in Mexico and the Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELC) in Columbia. This work is laborious because the average Latin American cannot imagine any other religious home than the Roman Catholic church, even though he personally may have very little tie to it. Then, too, the quite close relationship of church and state in some areas, where Catholicism is recognized as the official state religion, makes withdrawal from the church seem treason. Therefore the results of the Lutheran missions have been quite small in number and have affected only the lowest strata of the population. At the same time, however, this mission work is promising and demanded by the Gospel, just because even the "churched" population has actually hardly or never come into contact with the Gospel. In Columbia the mission work is made especially difficult because of the militant character of the Roman church. However, the Evangelical Lutheran Church has succeeded in creating a small mission center in Medellín and erecting a church in Bogotá in which, for the time being, the services of the German and Scandinavian groups are being held.

*Planting European congregations*

Just like the German or Scandinavian Lutheran congregations in an English-speaking area, so also those in a Spanish-speaking environment are always being endangered by the fact that each second generation which does not know the language of the parents sufficiently or at all is lost to the church of its fathers. This has caused a loss to Lutheranism in America, and to a lesser extent also in England, which cannot be overestimated. Therefore one can only endorse the concern of the Lutheran World Federation to change to Spanish preaching and instruction in all the congregations as soon as the situation demands. Naturally, preaching will have to be in two languages for an indefinite time, because all the congregations visited by me, with but one exception, were city businessmen's congregations, whose members cling sometimes for generations to the language and culture of their homeland because of constant moving about and the upbringing of their children. A German or Scandinavian or Eastern European naturally finds a Spanish environment much more strange than an English one. But Spanish preaching alone will not completely hinder the loss of the second generation: when marriages take place with persons of the indigenous population we must take into account that in most cases at least the children will be members of the Roman church. On the other hand, Spanish services will probably not remain without missionary effect even on the indigenous population, especially among those of the educated classes, who in many cases have no inner tie to their church. Therefore we should be able, at least in those countries where the close connection of church and state has been loosened, or, as in Mexico, completely dissolved, to count on the eventual entrance of some of the indigenous population into Lutheran congregations.

In this way both approaches, the way of mission and that of the planting of congregations, converge, and an indigenous Lutheran church will become reality. In order to bring this goal nearer it would perhaps be good not only to plan occasional further visitations, but also to appoint a permanent visitor from the Lutheran World Federation for Latin America, who would have to be situated at one of the

key points of the church. Free of any kind of legal ecclesiastical functions, he would have only one task: through deed and counsel to help the churches more and more to take root and become independent.

*Johannes Pfeiffer*

*Brazil***More Pastors for Brazil**

In LUTHERAN WORLD, (Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 422 ff.) Wilhelm Hahn has given a survey of the position of Protestantism and particularly of Lutheranism in South America. He makes a tentative sketch of the ideal that the Lutheran church in South America, in this continent of hitherto unrelieved tensions which must however sooner or later be resolved, might become a creative spiritual and intellectual center which would, at least for its own part, make a start on new ways of approach. In the task of offering the Gospel to everyone we shall have to overcome many barriers which are at present in our way. An evangelical theology would have to be developed in the Spanish and Portuguese languages which would really enter into the intellectual fray and would attract attention even in Catholic circles. As a positive start Professor Hahn points to the new Lutheran seminary in Buenos Aires, to which LUTHERAN WORLD devotes then some further pages (pp. 428 ff.).

We would ask whether it is not time to take up the same work in Portuguese-speaking areas even more forcefully than hitherto, especially within the Synodal Federation.

This federation, with its half-million Evangelicals, acknowledged the Lutheran faith at the time of its formation, and has become a member of the Lutheran World Federation. Its first call should be to make Luther's heritage bear fruit for Brazil, in the sense indicated by Professor Hahn. More and more it will have to regard its vernacular work not only as an emergency expedient and as a translation of German patterns of thought into Portuguese vocabulary, but as a discussion with the spiritual and intellectual currents of the country, a



discussion formed by the spirit of the Portuguese language. In order to do this there should be a theological faculty with Portuguese as the language of instruction.

There need be no fear that such an academy might be injurious to unity among the pastors. If we are to speak of the endangering of unity among the pastors, it is much more likely to happen in consequence of the fact that besides Neuendettelsau and Sao Leopoldo still another place of training for Brazil is to be set up at Barmen. The fact that it is happening at this point, when the lack of pastors has long since been recognized, makes the reasons which led to this plan quite obvious. It is to be feared that further developments will bring with them a period of stress for the confessional unity of the young Federation.

In contrast to this, the establishment of a theological seminary on a Lutheran basis with Portuguese as the principal language alongside the theological school at Sao Leopoldo would represent not a divisive development but rather a necessary supplementation. We already receive additional German-speaking pastors from Neuendettelsau. We still very much lack pastors who are at home in the spirit of the Portuguese language. They alone can approach with any prospect of success those who are seeking among the educated Brazilians, who often take refuge in spiritualism and other substitutes for religion only because they have become estranged from the Roman Catholic church and because the remaining evangelical and sectarian movements are for various reasons incapable of appealing to them. Only think what might have happened if men like Ruy Barbosa had come into closer contact with a Lutheran attitude which was not narrow-minded. It is just such intellectual leaders who will only with great difficulty attach themselves to a church in which nearly everything is translated from German or English. To appeal to the leading intellectual classes is a particularly important task for a church which has learned to read the first Epistle to the Corinthians, not excluding chapter 2, and to observe the way in which spiritual and intellectual movements have spread.

Apart from this, a theological faculty with Portuguese as the principal language would greatly increase the number of those wanting to study theology, since every student from a Brazilian high school

(Colégio) who had passed his final examination could be accepted after a language course in Greek and German, whereas in practice there is only the one pro-seminary, situated in the same southern corner of this vast country, which prepares students for the theological school at Sao Leopoldo.

Such a Brazilian Lutheran faculty would be faced with immense tasks, for its chief obligation would be to introduce the Lutheran spiritual and intellectual heritage into the Portuguese-speaking world. Here the armor would be forged which is necessary to the attitude to which the Lutheran World Federation as well as the Foreign Office of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKiD) summon our pastors and congregations in Brazil, namely "to go out from the ghetto they have chosen for themselves and stand firmly against the currents in spite around them, to confront them with the Gospel. It is decisive for the future to come to grips here concerning your own calling and task, and the ways of proclamation." (From a letter from the Foreign Office of the EKiD).

The necessity for the plan I have indicated is not only proved by the existence of the Lutheran theological seminary in Buenos Aires (for the Spanish-speaking part of Latin America), which calls for a corresponding institute for the Portuguese-speaking part, but is also recognized by men of the Lutheran World Federation. One would ask why there is still hesitation over its realization.

One might well ask where the pastors trained in Portuguese are to be placed, since the congregations of the Synodal Federation all come historically from the German cultural group, and no doubt in all the congregations at least some of the members have good reasons for wishing to retain the language of their fathers in their church. Here it should first be pointed out that, particularly in the large cities, as a result of mixed marriages and for other reasons, the number of those who are baptized in our church but speak no German is far greater than many will admit. Since in any case in the large cities more than one pastor must be appointed, those who had completed their training at the proposed institute could be in charge of this part of the work. By this means the number of families remaining in the church of their fathers would certainly greatly increase. Besides, I do not see why a clergyman who has been trained in

the Portuguese language should not be able to learn German just as well as our present pastors learn Portuguese. Indeed, the lack of an adequate theological literature in the language of the country would oblige the student to make himself thoroughly familiar with the German language. How many Lutherans our church has lost in earlier decades because the clergy had no adequate knowledge of Portuguese, and how many children of mixed marriages are lost to us because in spite of all the efforts of the pastors our church is still regarded as the "church of the Germans"!

Every objection to the proposed plan will have to be scrutinized as to whether this idea that we are nevertheless the church of the Germans is not—perhaps unconsciously—the deciding factor in it. But how many thousands who have lost the German language or will lose it in the future are by this attitude robbed of their spiritual home? The voices which come to us from Germany on this theme are themselves peculiarly contradictory. On the theme of the retention of the German language the following must be considered: on the one hand, in Brazil today, one must master the language of the country, otherwise one acquires a feeling of inferiority (at least starting with the second generation) and is regarded as a second-class person; on the other hand the German language is the key to and repository of cultural values which we do not wish to reserve for ourselves but which we must communicate to this country as our contribution to the formation of Brazilian culture.

The goal to be achieved, then, would be bilingualism of those of German descent in Brazil. If one thinks of the low cultural level of many people who have completed eight years of schooling in Germany, one must admit that bilingualism—which must mean, however, the mastery of both languages and a certain measure of penetration into the cultural values communicated by them—is significant only where one has at least eight years of instruction in both languages. Professor Hahn's report needs to be supplemented in one point: there are elementary schools in Brazil whose pupils can receive optional instruction in German from their first school year. But the percentage of children of our congregations who attend school for more than four years is very low. The consequence is that frequent-

ly neither of the two languages is spoken properly, not to speak of the conveying of spiritual, intellectual and cultural values. It is quite senseless for the church to close her eyes to this fact. And reluctant as I am to agree with the radical opinions which would retain the German language in the church only for the old and for new immigrants, it must be plainly stated that the number of those who do not have command of the German language is steadily growing. But if these people who do not speak German are to enjoy full and equal rights in the Synodal Federation, entering the ministry must not be made more difficult for them.

If this is fundamentally recognized, then—and only then—comes the question of the practical feasibility of our demand. There the argument is simply this: what has been made possible for the smaller churches in the Spanish-speaking part of Latin America should be all the more feasible in the large Synodal Federation in Brazil. We need not be anxious about the scholastic levels of the professors appointed. If not overburdened they can work into their tasks very well.

The second question concerns the necessary financial means. Perhaps some big industrialists will take the new Ford Foundation as an example. Bethel was financed mainly by people of small means. The question of money in a believing church is no adequate reason to reject at the outset something which is seen as a necessity.

The third question is that of the recruitment of students. Here the youth work of our church comes under examination. The New Testament should be read from this point of view (Matt. 4:19; 20:1 ff; John 12:26; 20:21, etc.). Our whole pastoral activity should be continually examined to see whether the dynamic missionary spirit which pervades the New Testament is being satisfactorily expressed. We have already a chain of Evangelical high schools in the country. Hitherto, paradoxically, entry into such a high school meant renouncing from the outset the study of theology. Should God's call to the ministry be issued only to those who have acquired at home the mastery of German? Should we not smooth the way into the ministry for others also? Otherwise they will evade the call of God with the excuse, "I'm not fit to preach, for I don't know enough German!"

*Walter J. Schlupp*



## BOOK REVIEWS

### *The Church in America*

PROTESTANT, CATHOLIC, JEW: AN ESSAY IN AMERICAN RELIGIOUS SOCIOLOGY. By Will Herberg. New York: Doubleday, 1956. 320 pp.

A BASIC HISTORY OF LUTHERANISM IN AMERICA. By Abdel Ross Wentz. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955.

AMERIKANISCHE THEOLOGIE IN GESCHICHTE UND GEGENWART [*American Theology, Past and Present*]. By Otto W. Heick. Breklum, Schleswig-Holstein: Christian Jensen Verlag, 1954.

WORT GOTTES UND FREMDLING-SCHAFT: DIE KIRCHE VOR DEM AUSWANDERUNGSPROBLEM DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS [*The Word of God and "Stranger-hood": the church confronted by the Problem of emigration in the 19th century*]. By Martin Schmidt. Erlangen and Rothenburg-on-the-Tauber: Martin Luther-Verlag, 1953.

THE HEART OF MISSOURI: A HISTORY OF THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH MISSOURI SYNOD, 1854-1954. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954.

REPORT OF THE JOINT UNION COMMITTEE TO THE CONVENTIONS OF THE NEGOTIATING BODIES (AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH, THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, LUTHERAN FREE CHURCH, UNITED EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH) 1956.

Will Herberg's is the most significant of the books here under review. Although, as he himself indicates, it is "but a study of one aspect of the religious situation" in the United States (preface), the aspect he has chosen, the sociological process of the Americanization of the various religious "communities" and how this is related to the present "revival of religion" in America, is especially pertinent, and the study itself incisive, illuminating and provocative.

There are three aspects to this study which Herberg sees and treats together: 1. the Americanization of the immigrant and its effect upon his religion; 2. the sociological phenomenon of religious group consciousness; and 3. the rise of what can

be called "American religion" and its role in the religious revival.

Herberg begins his study with a description of the paradoxical situation of religion in America at the middle of the twentieth century: a growing religiosity accompanied by a growing secularism, and traces this phenomenon to the process of Americanization. His descriptions of the first, second and third generation American are so true as to make an American reader see himself and his family and church reflected in them.

The author goes on then to analyse the "contemporary upswing in religion" (ch. 4) and the elements that make up America's "common religion" (ch. 5). Religion and the "American Way of Life" are shown to be bound up together. It is at this point that one could wish for a supplementary and more detailed analysis of the contributing factors—philosophical, theological, cultural, political, sociological and psychological—involved in the articulation and spread of this common American "religion".

The chapters on Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism are superb historical, sociological analyses, especially the ones on Catholicism and Judaism. To a "third generation" Lutheran—one who tries to "remember" what the second generation tried to "forget" (see chs. 2 and 3)—the question arises whether or not Protestantism really represents the unified whole described. Perhaps what is needed is an analysis, denomination by denomination, within the framework of Herberg's theses. At least an investigation of Lutheranism from this point of view would not only be rewarding as a study *per se*, but valuable to individual Lutherans, pastors and laymen, as well.

Herberg's own theological position, though he himself is a Jew, reflects the theology of Reinhold Niebuhr, with whom he has been closely associated. His critique of religion in America, especially in the last chapter, is sound and is supported by the opinions of persons in all the denominations and religious groups, but it does not hide his basic sympathy for those involved in the present situation, nor his final hopes that "God Who is able to make the 'wrath

of man' to praise Him (Ps. 75:10) is surely capable of turning even the intractabilities and follies of religion into an instrument of His redemptive purpose" (p. 289), to which his dedication of the book also testifies—"To the third generation upon whose return so much of the future of religion in America depends".

Professor Wentz's book represents a revision and expansion of his earlier work on the history of Lutheranism in North America entitled *The Lutheran Church in American History*. The general thesis of both books is that the history of Lutheranism can be sketched against the background of general American history. The titles of the sections, therefore, indicate the context in which he sees the history he narrates: "In Colonial Times"; "At the Birth of the Nation"; "In the Youth of the Republic"; "In a Period of Internal Discord"; "In the Days of Big Business"; "In an Age of Larger Units".

This history is a running account of the development of Lutheranism in North America. Its sweep is comprehensive. All significant events, persons and issues are treated within the general process of history.

It is just this that makes one begin to feel ill at ease with Professor Wentz's fluent account. Everything seems to be seen from the perspective of 1955, and the decisions which are of the stuff of history seem no longer to be such, but merely events in an inevitable development. Dozens of questions of real significance for understanding the history of Lutheranism in America appear to be unnoticed. At least they go untouched. There seems to be a lack of understanding of the depth and seriousness of the doctrinal controversies within American Lutheranism, and the relation of Lutheran doctrine to American culture. (One of the most superficial treatments is the chapter entitled "Lutherans Discover the Human Race", a survey of Lutheran attitudes toward social issues). The questions Will Herberg's book raises receive very little illumination from this study. Rather, one might illustrate Herberg's thesis on the phenomenon of denominational self-consciousness with reference to attitudes expressed in Wentz's book.

This work is "basic", therefore, not in the sense of providing a fundamental historical analysis of the phenomenon of Lutheranism

in America, but rather in the sense of sketching an outline and providing the basic data with which to work in pursuing such an analysis. A definitive history in this area is still to be written. But Professor Wentz's work, (especially the bibliographical notes) should provide an impetus for others to make individual studies of such a kind that a future work could deal with the history of Lutheranism in America in a more analytical and critical way.

*Amerikanische Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart* is a general translation—with revisions—of the third section of *A History of Christian Thought*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1946) by Professor Heick entitled "Theological Thought in America". The revisions are mainly in the last chapter dealing with 20th century developments, in the judgments expressed on the direction in which American theology is moving.

The brevity of the book precludes any idea that it is more than an introductory description of American theologians and theology. Reading it should certainly help the European student to increase his knowledge of an area practically unknown to him, but whether his *understanding* of the issues in American theology—past and present—would be enhanced in the process is doubtful. Over-simplification and generalization, though unavoidable in 104 pages covering 300 years, do not make the task of understanding easy. The real concerns of Missouri Lutheran theology, or the theology of Niebuhr, for example, are not made apparent. The use of this book should be reserved for purposes of orientation.

Martin Schmidt, Professor at the *Kirchliche Hochschule* in Berlin, has given us a study of the awakening of concern in Germany for Lutheran emigrants, especially those going to America. It traces the history of this concern to the confessional awakening—from Saxony to Franconia and Hannover—bringing in an appendix Löhe's "Appeal from the homeland to the German Lutheran Church of North America" and the names of those who signed it.

Professor Schmidt analyzes the confessional awakening and the motivation behind the gradual development of support for those who had emigrated and were emigrating and the final establishment of institutions for the channelling of such support. This book should be purchased by



every church history library. It is only on the basis of many more such individual studies that a comprehensive history of Lutheran emigration to and settlement in America can some day be written.

Two aspects of this book especially caught this reviewer's attention. The first is Professor Schmidt's evaluation of the driving motive of the confessional movement. He found it to be the motive of life (*Lebensmotiv*). He believes that this was the unifying factor amid all the diversity, and the basic theological assumption underlying all the other theological opinions of the movement. This may be so. On the other hand, it may also be just a common manifestation (common also to Idealism and Romanticism) of the time, which would tend to indicate that the uniqueness and origin of the confessional awakening of the 19th century are to be found elsewhere.

The other thing that struck this reviewer was the profound nationalism of the emigrants and those who were concerned about them, like Löhe, whose "Appeal" illustrates this most strongly. The deep insight into the nature of language which Professor Schmidt sees in Löhe's strong appeal to the Germans in America to hold on to their native tongue (p. 89) proved to be, in the long run, a detriment to the church in America, and one that is not yet overcome.

*The Heart of Missouri* is not a very significant book, except, perhaps, for those belonging to the "Western" District of the Missouri Synod and other Lutherans living in the same area. Nor is it a critical study. But it is worth reading for getting a general impression of the growth of the church in a time of immigration, the effect of doctrinal disagreement upon parishes, and the general picture of the Americanization of the Lutheran church. A list of the Western District conventions and the essays presented at them (Appendix B) indicates, for example, no apparent decrease in interest in or the relevance of traditional doctrinal subjects, despite practically complete Americanization (radio station and all). A study of real value would be one in which an attempt were made to draw the phenomenon of Missouri into the framework of the Herberg analysis.

The document of the *Joint Union Committee* is a piece of history in the making. Four Lutheran bodies are in the throes of becoming one. This is the blueprint of the process. In order really to understand the process itself one must be generally acquainted with the union negotiations that have been going on since about 1948, of which the American church press has given rather full account.

This report presents the proposed constitution, and by-laws of the new church, together with the Articles of Union, which lay down the practical provisions by which the union is to take place, and the so-called "United Testimony", the theological agreement, acceptance of which made union a possibility. Financial charts provide a picture of the uniting churches and the unified church. January 1st, 1960 is the proposed date of actual merger, the new church to be called The American Lutheran Church. Copies of the report may be obtained from the various church headquarters.

It is interesting to note the constitutional provisions on the Confession of the church (p. 20). There are four sections: 1. the church accepts the Scriptures "as a whole and in all their parts as the divinely inspired, revealed, and inerrant Wort of God, and submits to this as the only infallible authority in all matters of faith and life"; 2. it subscribes to the three ecumenical creeds and "The Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism", subscription to be "required of all its members, both congregations and individuals"; 3. it receives the rest of the Book of Concord, recognizing it as "normative for its theology"; 4. its acceptance of the symbolic books is defined by *quia not quatenus*.

This section especially, but really the whole report, reflects the questions and controversies in church government and practice which have perplexed the Lutheran church in America since the early part of the 19th century. It would be interesting to try to ascertain whether these problems can be attributed to the immigrant situation and the struggle for self-identification, or to the position of the Lutheran church in America, or whether they are simply problems inherent in Lutheranism.

Paul E. Hoffman

## John Wesley

JOHN WESLEY, BAND I: DIE ZEIT VOM 17. JUNI 1703 BIS 24. MAI 1738. [Volume I The Period from 17th June 1703 to 24th May 1738]. By Martin Schmidt. Zürich - Frankfurt a. M., Gotthelf Verlag 1953, pp. 334.

The appearance of the first volume of the first full-scale and scientific biography of John Wesley in the German language is an event of more than ordinary ecumenical interest. The longer we live in the ecumenical world, the more astonished we become at the extent of our ignorance of one another. In England Luther is still largely an unknown figure (though the situation is not as bad as most Lutherans imagine). There is a Methodist cause in Germany; but it is small, and "Methodistical" is too often used as a term of reproach rather than of definition. It is a pleasant ecumenical coincidence that the two outstanding Luther scholars in Britain, Dr. Philip Watson and Dr. Gordon Rupp, are both Methodists, and that the first German biographer of Wesley is a Lutheran.

It was high time that this gap in German theological literature should be filled, for Wesley is after all one of the few really great figures in Christian history. The movement which he called into existence has been a power in Britain for two centuries, and, though it has passed through some bad times, it is still a power. Since Methodist union in 1929, the Methodist Missionary Society has become the largest, the best staffed and the most ably organized of the British missionary societies. There are nearly ten million Methodists in America; and, whereas most of the 6 to 7 Million Lutherans were (or their forebears were) already Lutherans when they reached America, Methodism has been created out of nothing, through tireless and vigorous Methodist evangelism among the unchurched peoples of the land. Methodism has taken root in almost every country in the world. In recent years Methodist scholars have begun to make outstanding contributions to Christian theology. And the hymns of the Wesleys are an inexhaustible treasury of Christian devotion. No ecumenically-minded Christian can afford to be ignorant of this phenomenon; and naturally the best

place to start the study of it is at the fountain-head.

Professor Martin Schmidt is exceptionally well qualified for the work that he has taken in hand. He has a remarkable knowledge of the writings of the English Puritans, and of such byways as the "religious societies". His acquaintance and sympathy with pietism, and particularly his researches in the archives at Halle and elsewhere have enabled him to make use of some documents previously unknown. We have always been able to see the pietists through the eyes of Wesley; now we can see Wesley through the eyes of the pietists; and, though nothing essential is changed in the picture as we knew it, this new angle of vision adds a certain three-dimensional richness to the portraiture. I am not sure that Professor Schmidt is so successful on the Anglican side, where he seems sometimes to be working from secondary sources. But this is not surprising. I do not know any German scholar who has an adequate knowledge of Anglicanism and the Anglican theological tradition; and perhaps in order to understand the young Wesley it is necessary to be an Anglican oneself.

This is not in the strict sense a biography. It is a very careful and sympathetic study of Wesley's spiritual journey; and this after all is the essential, since what mattered to Wesley and what matters to the world is the inner experience through which he passed. We are shown all the various stages; the carefully disciplined High Church home, in which however each of the parents had come from a nonconformist background; school days at Charterhouse; Oxford, Wesley's first serious turning to God, with the development of the "Holy Club"; the missionary venture in Georgia, first contacts with the pietists, both of the Halle and the Herrnhut variety, whom Professor Schmidt carefully distinguishes from one another; the fantastic affair of Miss Sophy Hopkey, whom Wesley nearly married; the collapse of all his hopes, and his return to England, a saddened and disillusioned man. At every point, Professor Schmidt draws attention to the influences that were at work on Wesley; he names the books which Wesley was studying; and, not content with referring to them, he has taken the trouble to read each one, and gives us a summary of the contents and the main emphasis of each.



At times I feel that Professor Schmidt's German thoroughness and love of classification leads him a little astray. He does lay stress on Wesley's ceaseless study of the Bible, and particularly of the New Testament in Greek; but he has not perhaps quite realized the effect on the conscientious Anglican priest of the daily reading of Morning and Evening Prayer and the strongly biblical cast of thought which results from it; he finds the influence of Jeremy Taylor or Scougal or some secondary source where perhaps we should look no further than for the influence of the primary source, the Word of God itself. For Wesley was an extraordinarily self-willed and independent person. He criticised what he read; even when at Herrnhut, and for all his veneration for his pietist friends, he began to criticise some of their ways. True to the Anglican tradition, he recognized in the Scriptures alone an authority that was above criticism.

So we are brought to the great event of Wesley's conversion. He had lived under the law. Through the ministrations of Peter Böhler and other Moravian friends, he was led into the experience of grace. All this is carefully and objectively described; it was the experience of justification by faith, and nothing else, that led Wesley into liberty in Christ. Professor Schmidt makes clear, though he does not emphasize, the Trinitarian character of Wesley's thought at this period. Here again it was Wesley's Anglican background that was determinative. The standing Anglican criticism of Lutheranism (though not of Luther) is that it is not genuinely Trinitarian, and that by making the doctrine of justification central it has gravely distorted the biblical proportion of the faith. (When Anglicans and Lutherans meet, this is what they ought to discuss, instead of spending their time on probably fruitless argumentation as to the exact nature of the apostolical succession!) Wesley had been accustomed to say every day the Apostles' Creed and the *Te Deum*; it was natural that his thought should fall into the Trinitarian pattern. His experience was that of encounter with a living God, Creator and Judge. (Professor Schmidt seems at moments to regard the stalwart Anglican insistence on the doctrine of God as Creator almost as a theological defect rather than as an excellence.) It was an encounter with the living Christ as Reconciler and Redeem-

er. Due place was from the start given to the work of the Holy Spirit. I do not think that at that time Wesley was at all interested in psychological experiences. Like St. Paul, he expected that the Holy Spirit would bear witness with our spirit that we are the children of God, and therefore found a place for a moderate and sober doctrine of assurance. He saw that the work of the Holy Spirit must be holiness, and that this must take the form of victory over sin. Wesley and his followers did not always manage to maintain this balance; but, at the time of his conversion, Wesley's experience and his understanding of it seem to me to have been thoroughly biblical, Trinitarian and balanced.

Professor Schmidt seems a little surprised that, after his conversion, Wesley continued to be an Anglican. But what was there to prevent him? After all, all that had happened to him, as it has to countless Anglicans before and after his time, including the present reviewer, was that he had discovered the meaning of that Article of Religion (no. XI), to which he had assented at his ordination: "We are counted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort." (It is curious that our author nowhere quotes this Article). And it was characteristic of Wesley that he never abandoned anything that he had found valuable. Strict self-discipline, the Puritan watchfulness against occasions of sin, the high value attached to the sacraments, the mystical desire to live always in the presence of God, the Johannine emphasis on the love of God, the requirement of charitable and evangelical activity — all these things were seen afresh in the light of his new understanding of the doctrine of grace, and their proportions underwent some change. But all remained as parts of that complex, vivid, vigorous whole, which was the Christian experience of John Wesley, and of that movement which he was used of God to call into being.

It is a pity that the proofs of this book could not have been read by someone of English speech. There are far too many misprints and mis-spellings of English words. For instance, William Law's famous book appears as "Asderious Call" (p. 298,

n. 50). And in the quotation from Wesley's letter to Sophy Hopkey (Williamson), "I will advertise you... wherein you have done no wrong", (p. 317, n. 237), the accidental addition of "no" makes nonsense of the quotation. But these are only very minor blemishes on an outstanding work, such as can easily be corrected in a second impression.

In this volume Professor Schmidt has brought us only up to Wesley's conversion. Wesley still has more than fifty years to live and to witness. We can only wish Professor Schmidt prosperous breezes and inexhaustible energy, as he follows the tireless and inexhaustible Mr. Wesley through the remaining years of his pilgrimage; and we shall look eagerly for the second and concluding volume of this classic biography.

Stephen Neill

## Church History Experienced

ERLEBTE KIRCHENGESCHICHTE [*Church History Experienced*] By Paul Fleisch. Hannover: Heinrich Feesche Verlag, 1952.

ERINNERUNGEN AUS MEINEM LEBEN *Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Kirchengeschichte. [Recollections of my life. A contribution to recent church history.]* By Theophil Wurm. Stuttgart: Quell-Verlag, 1953.

DER EINSAME VON BETHEL. *Die Geschichte des Pastors Bodelschwingh und seines großen Werkes. [The lonely one of Bethel. The story of Pastor Bodelschwingh and his great work.]* By Kurt Pergande. Stuttgart: Quell-Verlag, 1953.

FRIEDRICH VON BODELSCHWINGH, EIN LEBENSBIOD [A life picture] By Gustav von Bodelschwingh. Hamburg and Frankfurt-on-the-Main: Fischer Bucherei, 1955.

PRIESTERLICHER DIENST IM KIRCHLICHEN HANDELN [*Priestly service in the work of the church*] By Georg Merz. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1952.

DAS BAYERISCHE LUTHERTUM [*Bavarian Lutheranism*] By Georg Merz. Munich: Verlag des Evangelischen Presseverbandes für Bayern, 1955.

Not all of these books are autobiographies in the strict sense of the word. It is actually only true of the memoirs of Paul

Fleisch and Theophil Wurm. Both men write from a strong tie to the territorial churches in which they worked and whose spirit and attitude they to a large extent represent. Bishop Wurm is bound to Lutheranism in Württemberg and Dr. Fleisch to Lutheranism in Hannover. But actually neither of them is native to his area. Bishop Wurm was born in Basle and on his mother's side comes from a Swiss family. Dr. Fleisch is from Hamburg and took both of his theological examinations in that church. On the other hand, the activity of both men has extended far beyond the boundaries of their churches because in the place in which they stood and worked they were obedient. "In faith I witness," said Karl Barth in one of his post-war lectures at Bonn, "to the fact that the purpose of the concrete congregation to which I belong and for whose life I am responsible is to make visible, in this place, in this form, the one holy church."

That is perhaps the most interesting thing about a comparison of the memoirs of these two men. They are totally different personalities; they judge the same given circumstances often quite differently. The heart of Dr. Fleisch is in the Lutheran movement for unity inside and outside Germany (he was a participant at the Lutheran World Convention at Copenhagen 1928 and at the founding of the Lutheran World Federation in Lund 1947); his concern is for law and order in the church to which he devoted his energies in many capacities, among others as clerical Vice-President of the Administrative Office of the Church of Hannover and in the same position as collaborator under the leadership of Dr. Hanns Lilje in the office of the so-called "Luther Council", that is, the "Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany". Bishop Wurm often finds such a Lutheranism "narrow", and undoubtedly this opinion of his contributed to his church's staying out of the union of German Lutheranism after 1945. The special stature of Wurm lies in the fact that as Bishop of Württemberg in the period 1933-45 he was in a very special way the spokesman before the public of the conscience of the German nation, who raised his voice not only on behalf of the freedom of the church, but also in protest against other injustices, for example,



against the secret orders to kill the mentally ill.

However, despite the many differences, what the two men have in common should not be overlooked. Both were of the same opinion and judgment about National Socialism. Because of responsibility for the church, both men repudiated certain escapades of the "Dahlemites", that is, of the "absolute followers of Niemöller or Karl Barth" (Wurm). Both deplored the fact of Hannover's signature to the Godesberg Declaration, which is to be traced to German-Christian instigation; Fleisch calls it the "darkest day in the history of the Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany" and is of the opinion that the crisis that thus arose had its continued effect even after 1945. The memoirs of Theophil Wurm and Paul Fleisch have their special value as sources for an important part of German church history which may well be of special significance for the history of the church of the 20th century.

Certainly it is in fact the extreme situations which express the actual character of men and nations. And the church struggle in Germany was one such extreme situation. But where did that which here became apparent have its historical roots? Abbot Uhlhorn of Hannover once made the remark (quoted by Fleisch) that the *Formulae caute loquende* of Urbanus Rhegius had almost the rank of a confession in Hannover. But the great homiletician and later superintendent in Celle was of Alamanic and not of Lower Saxon origin, and Lutheranism in Hannover or Bavaria or Württemberg is only indirectly related to certain types of Lutheranism connected with the time of the Reformation. Their immediate spiritual and intellectual roots lie in a time that was confronted by the tremendous task of coming to grips not only with the spiritual and intellectual heritage of the Reformation but also with that of the Enlightenment and Pietism; they lie in the 19th century.

It is the special merit of Georg Merz that he shows the many-sidedness and riches of this century, also its spiritual riches. It was precisely the newly awakened Lutheranism in that century which in many ways contributed to the riches of the time and which then in turn itself became the source of great Christian values, even outside the Lutheran territorial churches.

Wilhelm Löhe saw in Prof. Krafft in Erlangen, who was Reformed, his spiritual father; Johannes Hofmann received the strongest incentives from Leopold von Ranke in Berlin; and for Bodelschwingh, who served in the Prussian Church of the Union, Löhe was a model, in both his diaconal and congregational work. Ties between the confessions are not hampered by the revival of this self-consciousness, and the rejection of the Union is misunderstood if in this rejection is seen only rigid confessionalism. The reason for this rejection is quite another. The attempt to establish the Union by brutal means of political power, by the military and the police, awakened for the first time the feeling of a church struggle in our time, the fear of the hybris of the state, and this fear has grown even greater in the hundred years and more since then. Here evidently lies the danger to man in general and to the Christian in particular, in an age of mass organizations; here lies at the same time, however the possibility of witness and service. To this situation comes the call of the Lord of the church for priestly action on behalf of this world.

Georg Merz has written these essays of his, which have been collected in two small volumes, in great affection not only for Lutheranism, but also for the work of service, *diaconia*, and especially for the work in Bethel of Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, with whom he had been closely connected for many years as director of the theological school. These essays are just for that reason a piece of "church history experienced". They have been written out of the experiences of the German church struggle in which the concern was not for "Christianity" or "Lutheranism" but for humanity, for the task of watching over mankind, which God has committed to the priestly service of his church. Therefore it is commendable that Kurt Pergande shows this service not only in the personality and activity of Father Bodelschwingh, but also in his son Fritz. These "lives" of great Christians of our time should be read much more than they are; they are also a real protection against the forces to which all of us modern men are exposed. And it is therefore really a good deed when a publisher like S. Fischer makes available to all in an inexpensive edition the biography of Bodelschwingh by



his second son, Gustav. Pergande's book is distinguished, incidentally, apart from a clear presentation divided into short chapters, especially by successful photographs and facsimiles.

The church built by Bodelschwingh in the Paris suburb La Villette houses today the theological institute of the Orthodox church. As we celebrated the 25th anniversary of this institute there last year one of the teachers who spoke about the history of the house pointed to a picture of Bodelschwingh hanging on the wall. "One of the saints of the Lutheran church", he said. Perhaps that is a way of thinking and speaking to which we are unaccustomed, but this we can say, "One of the witnesses of Christ who concerns us all." And that is true no doubt of each "erlebte Kirchengeschichte".

Hans Bolewski

## *The Position of Lutheran Missions*

LUTHERAN WORLD MISSIONS: *Foreign Missions of the Lutheran Church in America*. By Andrew S. Burgess. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 277pp. \$3.50.

DEUTSCHE EVANGELISCHE WELT-MISSION [German Evangelical World Mission]. 1956 Yearbook. Ed. by Walter Freytag. Hamburg: Verlag der Deutschen Evangelischen Missions-Hilfe, 1956.

A book of information like the volume above was due, and it is a good one. Everyone can now know what the American Lutheran churches have been doing in the area of missions in our day; hardly seven million Lutherans support 1650 missionaries! Such a number should and does put to shame the Lutherans in Europe, and especially in the motherland of the Reformation. From the very beginning they have shown a lack of missionary zeal, and this points to a real deficiency in the church, which cannot just be explained by all sorts of extenuating circumstances.

Fifteen maps and charts (pp 258-264), show the world-wide extent of American Lutheran mission work. In the longest chapter, (pp. 20-239) fourteen churches, synods and societies introduce themselves and offer

information on the history, place and extent of their work.

The chapter by Dr. F. Schiotz is much shorter, and presents a concise survey of Lutheran cooperation in world missions. This is one of the finest chapters of modern church history, of fraternal assistance, and of Lutheran missions growing together with a great goal in view and a broad scope of action. One would like to wish that what is presented here might be read especially by those who are not "missionary people", because it is a matter of urgency that they should know of the new ways by which the church is seeking to serve the world.

Another article reports on Lutheran work in Latin America. In addition to a good index, a bibliography and a list of addresses, there are two contributions by A. Burgess, which are of fundamental importance. His "Basic Facts" bring detailed statistics for 1954, in which all the information one could wish is to be found (including the Missouri Synod). The total expenditures for 1954 are listed as \$ 9,282,045.83. We also find a general picture of the total Lutheran mission work, including non-American work, which is divided according to countries ("mission fields") and mentions all the younger churches and missions, the dates when they were founded, the number of missionaries and baptized Christians, and expenditures.

Preceding the whole work is a study by A. Burgess on the beginnings of Lutheran missionary work in Europe and America (pp. 2-18). Here we find some acute observations and valuable remarks on the growth of Lutheran mission work, in which the weaknesses of the Lutheran church are not suppressed or concealed. Some of the information on the Tranquebar Mission is in need of correction, which can be found in the latest presentation by the reviewer, *It Began at Tranquebar*, Madras, 1955 (*Es begann in Tranquebar*, Berlin, 1955); this would also include the spelling of European names (Campanius, Lütken, Friedrich, Nitschmann).

The appearance of this work should be gratefully received. It should be read not only by mission specialists, much though they too can learn from it. One would hope that its readers would be primarily laymen, students and pastors, and especially the peripatetic princes of the ecumenical church.

Arno Lehmann



The latest in a series of yearbooks that is consistently rich in content and interest, this present German volume contains besides a well-prepared survey and statistical tables, a varied assemblage of articles on specific aspects of missionary concern. Bishop Heinrich Meyer contributes an analysis of the significance of last autumn's All-Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu, and Dr. Müller-Krüger a thought-provoking study of the Christian situation in Indonesia. Another paper discusses inner missions in Japan, and a fourth, Christian women in Asia and Africa.

Perhaps most significant of all is a report by Inspector Menzel (Barmen) of a discussion which took place at the German Evangelical Missions Conference in September 1955. Under the heading "Was muß bei uns anders werden?", the discussion (and the report of it) presents a self-critical analysis of a major problem in the life of the German missionary societies, namely, that of their relationships with the churches and among themselves. The problem arises from the fact that the great European folk-churches do not themselves have departments of "home" or "foreign" missions. The historical development has been that the missionary commission of the church has been carried out by societies more or less closely related to the various churches. These societies have, through the years, developed their own institutions and constituencies.

The question of these relationships between the German societies and the churches is not unrelated to the present widespread interest in the nature of the church

and its mission in the world. Wisely and humbly the missions ask themselves where they have been failing. It is that in their approach to the churches they have been seeking for support rather than seeking to serve? Is it that they have been more interested in maintaining themselves than in the mission of the church? Has there been a lack of clarity as to just what the missionary commission involves? Are, in fact, the mission societies a hindrance rather than a help to the churches in the fulfilment of the churches' missionary commission? Does not the mission society fail in that it reaches only a select group while its very existence makes it unnecessary or difficult for the churches as such to face the Great Command?

In facing problems relating to their relationships with one another the societies were able to offer practical solutions. But to the questions raised above the answers were not so easy to find. There was a reluctance to believe that an organizational solution would be more than a superficial approach to the problem. The serious and searching attitude manifested by the whole discussion is to be admired. A serious and continuing attempt to answer these questions must have deep consequences for the German mission societies.

The statistical tables show a total of 32 societies (not all Lutheran) with personnel working abroad. They had, at the end of 1954, 596 missionaries on the foreign field, an encouraging growth of 60% over the figure of 562 given in the previous yearbook.

*Arne Sovik*

## CREDO ECCLESIAM

For a long time in many parts of the world the thesis was true that to be connected with the church was the same as being conservative. Certainly there have always been disquieted and awakened spirits who have felt the fatality of this thesis and revolted against it. But as a whole the churches, in the period which began with the French Revolution, have nevertheless felt themselves, despite all the non-conformist movements in and around them, to be in the role of those who conserve.

That the situation is now different is not caused by the fact that in the meantime the call to revolution and the optimistic faith in the total organization of human relationships has encroached also upon the church. Were that the case, then the church would really appear almost comical by arriving too late, helping artificially to sustain with Christian vocabulary a world view which every sincere child of this world knows is doomed.

But precisely because the world today is different, the church recognizes that she would no longer be able to carry on the service of witness and love to this world given her as a responsibility from the Lord if she were to desire to cling to the past as if the past were absolutely Christian. The fact that Christians are to be different, the fact of the distance between the church and the world, has nothing to do with a ghetto existence of those who are old-fashioned.

This is the lesson which the church is learning today, a difficult and painful lesson, and it is precisely this painfulness which is characteristic of the present phase of ecumenical development. In the time of the "branch theory", of denominational comparison, one could with pride point to the riches of one's own historical tradition; one could feel that one's church was a special type within the framework of the church at large and one could perhaps be a little enamored of her peculiarities. Joy in these riches is now in the throes of rapid decline. Modern man no longer knows what to do with this beautiful museum. He is questioning all the more seriously about the church which makes it possible for him to stand fast in this world, and in this world to believe that God became incarnate in it.

Therefore it is part of the exciting character of the ecumenical movement as it is today that the churches, in their encounter with one another and in their encounter with a world seeking after the living God, are viewing critically their historical riches. The heritage of the European immigrant in North America, the work of mission in Asia and Africa, the order of the German territorial churches, the ties to people and state in the Scandinavian countries—certainly these are not things which one could give up light-heartedly. They are bound up with diligence, sacrifice, love, and often no doubt with the blood of one's forefathers. No one of us has the right to push them aside as antiquated. But the church must know that she does not live on this heritage, but that rather if she is to make the many rich she must herself be poor, whose empty hands are filled only by God himself. She must want to be modern—in obedience, not under false pressure—prepared to count as dross everything that hinders her service.

However, in doing this one makes an astonishing discovery. When one asks questions with such seriousness about the church one no longer gets anywhere with the usual Protestant method of subtraction which deletes as Catholic admixture everything not appearing to be the pure proclamation of the Word. If we take seriously our confession of the "one, holy, catholic and apostolic church" then we may exclude neither parts of our self, nor parts of humanity today, nor parts of history. Where the Kingdom of God is established, there the concern is for the whole, and nothing else is meant by the word "catholic". "I have the true, wholesome faith because I have the catholic faith"; with these words a confessing Lutheran in Croatia in the 17th century defended himself against the attempts at conversion by the Counter-Reformation. In an especially fine way *Credo Ecclesiam*, a book recently issued by the Berneudiners in Germany, describes in three theses the area of validity of the word "catholic": 1. "The catholicity of the church means the wholeness of mankind, the wholeness of the world"; 2. "The catholicity of the church demands wholeness in church order." 3. "He who would be evangelical must with his whole heart desire at the same time to be catholic"<sup>1</sup> (in the sense of the two preceding points).

The enlarged Commission on Theology of the Lutheran World Federation which met in the spring of 1955 to consider the theme of the Assembly in Minneapolis in 1957 ultimately

1 *Credo Ecclesiam*. Von der Kirche heute, Cassel: Johannes Staude Verlag, 1955, p. 27 ff



chose a christological and not a primarily ecclesiological statement: Jesus Christ alone frees and unites. Discussion is supposed to take place on the second article, but in such a way that the third article will also be brought into consideration, the uniting of Christians. It will be of decisive significance for the discussion itself and for its preparation that both aspects of Christ's work, both the uniting and the freeing aspects, be seen as being indissolubly connected. Otherwise the serious accusation contained in the work mentioned above would also apply today to Lutheranism:

"Today in Evangelical theology one may go uncastigated in questioning and devaluating the Holy Scriptures, the Holy Trinity, the Sacraments and much else as well while still claiming to teach correctly because one advocates 'justification by faith alone'. Justification so understood becomes then, in contrast to its Reformation significance, the supreme and exclusive article of faith. The article concerning the church indicates in especial measure the narrowness of this understanding of faith."<sup>2</sup>

That means however that the church must again learn to love the riches which Christ has given her, and these riches consist as little in a glorious past as in pious inwardness. But it does consist in the praise of God in the congregation, in the joy and earnestness in that which God does through us, in knowing about the chain of the fathers and brethren to which we ourselves belong as members, in molding the forms in which men live in the name of Jesus Christ.

Coming to grips with our past certainly allows us to see our Lutheran fathers of the 19th century occasionally with quite critical eyes—for example, Löhe or Vilmar or the representatives of the confessional theology. How much are they not also subjects of their time, subject to nationalism, to romantic philosophy or to the open or hidden fear of the rising industrial age. Critical discussion is good and necessary. But it should not so entice us that we do not hear the question to which these men sought an answer—and which they occasionally found, in very convincing form—the question about the church. For we ourselves are confronted by this question, and in answer to it, for the sake of what Christ wants to bestow upon us here and only here, we today too, without any fear and without any romanticism, but with all humility and all joyousness, must dare to confess: *Credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*.

Hans Bolewski

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 13.

## EDITORIAL NOTES

In this issue for the first time non-theologians have collaborated to a considerable extent. In this respect we are particularly grateful for the contributions of Mr. Peter DÜRRENMATT (Switzerland), Editor-in-chief of the *Baseler Nachrichten*, and of Mr. Göran GÖRANSSON, a Swedish lawyer. We notice also with particular delight the collaboration of a leading representative of the World Council of Churches, Bishop Stephen NEILL, to whom we are indebted for the evaluation of the Marangu documents and for the review of Prof. Martin Schmidt's biography of Wesley. Among the others who are contributing to LUTHERAN WORLD for the first time in this issue we would like to mention Prof. E. Clifford NELSON, who is in charge of arrangements for the Minneapolis Assembly, Oberkirchenrat KRÜGER of the Foreign Office of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKiD), Pastor Dr. Johannes PFEIFFER of Berlin, the Rev. Walter J. SCHLUPP, pastor of the congregation in Teófilo Otoni, Brazil and Miss Ruth ENGELBRECHT of the Division of Student and University Work of the National Lutheran Council in New York.

The following have contributed book reviews: Mr. Paul E. Hoffman, Bishop Stephen Neill, Dr. Hans Bolewski, Prof. Dr. Arno Lehmann and Dr. Arne Sovik.

The reports of Prof. Christhard Mahrenholz and Prof. Peter Brunner in the last issue are from the work of the Commission on Liturgy of the LWF and not, as erroneously stated, from the work of the Commission on Theology.

### LWF-Conference Schedule

1956

July 16-18	Commission on Inner Missions	Berlin, Germany
July 24	LWF Officers Meeting	Frankfurt, Germany (?)
August 9-15	Commission on World Missions	Hurdals Verk, Norway
August 13-19	Luther Research Conference	Aarhus, Denmark
August 15-18	Commission on World Service	London, England
August 20-24	Commission on Theology	Göteborg, Sweden
August 24-28	Commission on Liturgy	Göteborg, Sweden
August 27-29	Committee on Latin America	(place still to be decided)



# LITERATURE SURVEY

A REVIEW OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

PUBLISHED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

NR. 1

1956

## *Biblical Theology*

DER STAAT IM NEUEN TESTAMENT  
[*The State in the New Testament*]. By Oscar Cullmann. Tübingen: J. C. Mohr, 1955. 100 pp. 9 DM.

The problem of Christianity and the state is given to us in the Gospel from the very beginning. The early church faced a hostile government and secular authority, but she also had to make statements on the nature of the state itself. On the other hand, an essential part of the church's preaching was the end of secular authority and the beginning of the Kingdom of Christ. The studies published in this volume were delivered by the author at Union Theological Seminary, New York, as the Hewett Lectures. All questions raised are treated from the exegetical and historical point of view. The author considers in his studies the whole New Testament, including the life of Jesus. The Cross of Jesus confronts us with the problem of the state. Both theological and also mere historical questions are dealt with here. Even though there seem to be some contradictions in the different New Testament writings, there is considerable agreement within it as a whole.

THE AREOPAGUS SPEECH AND NATURAL REVELATION. By Bertil Gärtner. *Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Uppsaliensis*, No. XII. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1955. 289 pp. Sw. Kr.

The author compares the methods of historic description in Luke with those in the Old Testament, in the ancient Greek, in the Maccabees and in Josephus. He also presents a study in the character and the place of the speeches in the Acts of the Apostles, especially the Areopagus speech.

He explains previous attempts to solve the problem of the Areopagus speech. By investigating the context, he denies the hypothesis that Paul had been questioned on the Areopagus by the Athenum Council. The author asks the question whether Paul had shared in the process of assimilating Jewish and Hellenistic thought or whether he had for missionary reasons brought his speech in line with Hellenistic philosophical ways of thinking. The theological content of the Areopagus speech is unfolded as follows: 1. The concept of natural revelation and its significance for men. 2. Paul's concept of God. 3. His attack against the false worship of God. 4. His concept of universalism and of the divine plan of salvation. Finally the author presents a solution of the altar inscription and declares that the contents of the Areopagus speech are Paulinistic.

ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL: A COMMENTARY. By R. H. Lightfoot. Ed. by C. F. Evans. London: Oxford Books, 1956. 378 pp. 30 s.

This book is addressed to the same class of reader as the Clarendon Bible — those who wish to make a serious study of the Bible but may not have any special linguistic equipment, such as a knowledge of Greek. It is primarily a religious and theological exposition of the text of St. John's Gospel. Such questions as date, authorship, place of origin, and the relation of this gospel to other books of the New Testament are not ignored; but Professor Lightfoot's main purpose is to elucidate from a close study of the text the writer's thought and its significance for the doctrines of the early church. When he died at the end of 1953, the book was nearly completed. Mr. Evans has set the introduction in order and contributed a preface.

THE SUFFERING SERVANT IN DEUTERO-ISAIAH: *a historical and critical study*, 2nd ed. By C. R. North. London: Oxford Books, 1956. 280 pp. £ 1.5.—

This book is an investigation of the sections on the Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah. In an exhaustive study the author deals with all questions concerning the historical and the theological aspect of the Suffering Servant. This present second edition has been revised and considerably enlarged.

## Historical Theology

ANSELM VON CANTERBURY: *Cur Deus Homo?* — [Warum Gott Mensch geworden?] Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft E. V., 1955. XII. 156 pp.

The classic study of Anselm on Incarnation and Redemption is now published in a bilingual edition (Latin and German). Reverend Father Franciscus S. Schmidt, O.S.B., is responsible for the translation and the introduction. One also finds a short bibliography.

BIBELN OCH MÄNNISKAN I MAGNUS FRIEDRICH ROOS' TEOLOGI: *En systematisk studie i württembergspietism* [The Bible and Man in the Theology of Magnus Friedrich Roos: a systematic study on Württemberg Pietism]. By Helge Brattgård. *Studia Theologica Lundensia*, No. 10. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups, 1955. 403 pp.

This study on the theology of Roos is introduced by a survey of Württemberg Pietism and a biography of Roos. The author sees Pietism in connection with Orthodoxy and in opposition to Rationalism. The theology of Roos is shown as a mixture of Orthodoxy and Pietism. This is shown in his doctrine of Holy Scripture and his anthropology. These two are connected closely to each other. It is emphasized that man is God's creation and from this point Roos builds up his anthropology. This book is an indication of the living communication between present-day research in Church History in Tübingen and Systematics in Lund.

ANSGAR SVERIGES APOSTEL [Ansgar, the Apostle of Sweden]. By Yngve Brilioth. Stockholm: Diakonistyrselförlag, 1955.

This small volume by Sweden's Archbishop deals with the life and the significance of the great northern missionary Ansgar. He lives at the beginning of the Swedish Church. His missionary activities are a part of the mission which has been started in the 11th century. His work and theological ideas and thoughts have still significance for present-day Swedish church life.

DER URSPRUNG DES CHRISTLICHEN DOGMAS: *Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Albert Schweitzer und Martin Werner* [The Origin of Christian Dogma: a Diskussion of the Theses of Albert Schweitzer and Martin Werner]. By Felix Flückinger. Zürich-Zollikon: Ev. Verlag, 1955. 216 pp. 15.80 Sw. Fr.

The thesis deals with the "Consequent Eschatology" of Albert Schweitzer and his disciple Martin Werner. Albert Schweitzer postulated that the center of the New Testament was the coming of the Messiah and following him Martin Werner tried to prove that the Christian dogma has its origin in the fact that the end did not come and that the early church substituted dogmas for the pure apocalyptic proclamation of Jesus. The author postulates the consequent eschatological concept must be developed and corrected. He holds in contrast to Albert Schweitzer that the Apocalypse is not the central concept of the Gospel. His own concept is that the center of the New Testament is the Gospel as a saving proclamation. Therefore, he seeks the origin of Christian dogmas, not as Werner does in the fact that Christ did not come, but even in the eschatologic preachings of the apostolic age.

KYRKA OCH VÄCKELSE INOM HÄRNÖSANDSSTIFT FRÅN 1840-TALET TILL OMKRING 1880 [Church and Revival in the Diocese of Härnösand from 1840 to 1880]. By Martin Gidlund. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1955. 339 pp. Sw. Kr. 19.—

Even though the subject matter is limited to the area of a diocese, this paper might be of more than local interest. The problems in the relation between traditional church life and the different forms of the revival movement are shown by the example of the diocese of Härnösand. A difficult situation within the state church is created by the actions and reactions of the bishops, the pastors, and the laymen.



There are four groups: the Church revival movement, the Lutheran Separatists, the Rosenians, and the Baptists. The first two rely on the Augsburg Confession, the latter two's orders and confessions are based on reformed traditions. The discussion deals with the conception of the ministry and with the doctrine of the church and the Lord's Supper. The author also shows what positive influences this struggle had on the pastors, the church life, and especially church discipline. There is an English summary added.

WEG UND BEDEUTUNG DER ALT-KIRCHLICHEN CHRISTOLOGIE [*The Way and the Significance of the Christology of the Ancient Church*]. By Arnold Gilg. München: Chr.-Kaiser-Verlag, 1955. 108 pp. 4.80 DM.

The author, professor of history at Bern, Switzerland, shows in this book, which has been published first in 1936 and which is now reprinted, the developments which led to the doctrines of the person and the work of Christ from the apostolic Fathers to the Council of Chalcedon. He points out that the ancient dogmatic formulas concerning the Logos-christology or the doctrine of the two natures in Christ have been developed against all attempts to solve the mystery of Christ or to sacrifice the divinity of Christ. The author also shows the steps from the New Testament conception to the dogmas of the early church and further to the understanding of the person and work of Jesus Christ in the thinking of the 16th century reformers. This book is published in the series "Theologische Bücherei" (Theological Library) in which theological standard works, which are out of print, are republished.

THEOLOGIE UND PHILOSOPHIE BEI LUTHER UND IN DER OCCAMISTISCHEN TRADITION [*Theology and Philosophy in Luther and in the Occamist Tradition*]. By Bengt Hägglund. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups, 1955.

The author deals with the distinction and the connection between Theology and Philosophy and with the differences from and the similarities to the concepts of faith in Luther and in the occamist tradition. He gives a systematic presentation of these problems and summarizes them in the

light of the idea of a double truth. The late scholastic theology demands a clear distinction between Philosophy and Theology because of epistemology, while Luther's distinction is based on his doctrine of original sin. Therefore, after a correctly understood "sacrificium intellectus", Luther can establish a positive relationship between reason and philosophy on the one hand and faith and theology on the other hand. The possibility of connecting Theology and Philosophy is based on the late scholastic concept of faith as "fides acquisita." However, Luther cannot admit this, since for him faith is primarily experience.

LUTHER'S WORKS: Vol. 12, *Selected Psalms I*. Ed. by Jaroslav Pelikan and H. Lehmann. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press; St. Louis: Concordia, 1955. 366 pp. \$ 5.00.

This volume is the first of a set of 55 which are to be published by the joint efforts of Concordia Publishing House and the Muhlenberg Press. The project will take some 15 years. Its aim is to present in idiomatic English a sequence of 20 volumes on Luther's Old Testament Commentary, 10 volumes on the New Testament, and the final 25 on his career and theological teachings, correspondence, devotions, sermons, and Table Talks. When completed, this 55 volume translation under the title "American Edition" will be the largest and most authoritative in English. The first volume (No. 12) contains Luther's commentaries on Psalms (2, 8, 19, 23, 26, 45, 51) translated by four different scholars under the editorship of Professor Jaroslav Pelikan of the Federated Theological Faculty, University of Chicago. It includes a one-page general introduction and a four-page introduction to the volume and an eight-page index. The text is based primarily on the Weimar Edition and is accompanied by occasional explanatory footnotes.

LUTHER: LETTERS OF SPIRITUAL COUNSEL. Ed. by Theodore S. Tappert. Library of Christian Classics, XVIII. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955. 367 pp. \$ 5.00.

This is a representative selection of Luther's letters based on the Weimar Edition of Luther's works translated and edited by Dr. Theodore Tappert. There is a

general introduction giving the "salient features of Luther's theology" and describing the general areas in which Luther's counsel was sought and given. Questions of the cure of souls "were answered in terms of Luther's understanding of the Gospel and in terms of the immediate situation". The introduction also includes notes on the publication of the letters and selected matters from Luther's Table Talks dealing with matters of the cure of souls chosen to supplement the letters. The letters are included under eleven different classifications. There is a short introduction to each letter about the circumstances on which Luther's counsel was based, which generally does not go into problems of text. In each grouping the letters and selected Table Talks are arranged chronologically. There are three pages of general and special bibliography and four pages of Biblical references.

**SERMONS ON THE PASSION OF CHRIST.** By Martin Luther; translated by Professor E. Smid and Professor J. T. Isensee. Rock Island, III: Augustana Book Concern, 1955. 224 pp. \$ 2.50.

Here for the first time in many years are thirteen famous Lenten Sermons of the great reformer available in an English translation. The original translation of this volume was made over seventy years ago and has been out of print for a great many years. Each sermon meditation deals with an event of the Passion Week, beginning with the occurrences at the Mount of Olives, continuing through the seizure, trials, crucifixion and burial.

**N. F. S. GRUNDTVIG: AN AMERICAN STUDY.** By Ernest D. Nielsen. Rock Island, III: Augustana Book Concern, 1955. 175 pp. \$ 2.75.

In a vague way the name of Grundtvig is known to those who have even an elementary knowledge of general Lutheran history. Grundtvig is, however, a man of the Lutheran church whose life and interest ought to be generally better known. Dr. Nielsen, now president of Grand View Lutheran College, Des Moines, Iowa, has rendered a distinct service to Lutheranism, as well as to the entire English-speaking

Christian world in writing this book. It is well written and fully documented. The reader will receive insight and information about a man who exerted a lasting influence in Denmark by his emphasis on Christian liberty through the Gospel, his faith in absolute spirit, his program of education, his numerous excellent hymns, and his various writings.

**FOOLS FOR CHRIST.** By Jaroslav Pelikan. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955. 172 pp. \$ 3.00.

A study of the relation of the holy to the good, the true, and the beautiful in comparative approaches of Kierkegaard, Dostoevsky, and Nietzsche with those of St. Paul, Luther, and Bach makes up this book.

**A BASIC HISTORY OF LUTHERANISM IN AMERICA.** By Abdel Ross Wentz. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955. 430 pp. \$ 5.00.

The author is former president and professor of Church History at The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. This work is "larger and more complete" than his book *The Lutheran Church in American History*, 2nd ed., 1930. However, it basically follows the lines laid down in this book. He uses a pattern of American history as the framework for telling the history of the Lutheran church in America. "It aims not merely to present facts but also to present an interpretation". Information is included on the history and status of the various Lutheran church bodies, the beginnings of LWF, recent moves in Lutheran unity in America, and the role of Lutheranism in the ecumenical movement. The book includes 27 pages of bibliography and biographical notes and an extensive index.

**PULPIT UNDER THE SKY.** By Joseph M. Shaw. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 250 pp. \$ 3.50.

This book is an account of the faith and life of Hans Nielsen Hauge, the lay evangelist of Norwegian folk piety at the crossroads of the 18th and 19th centuries.



URCHRISTENTUM UND GESCHICHTE  
[Primitive Christianity and History] Col-  
lected Essays and Lectures. By Hans von  
Soden; Edited by Hans von Campenhaus-  
sen. Vol. II Kirchengeschichte und Gegen-  
wart. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1956, 110 pp.  
9,- DM.

Hans von Campenhausen in the Preface to this collection of 14 lectures and essays by Hans von Soden from the period 1911—1945 says that they bring to bear an abundant, learned knowledge upon the pressing questions of their time. Indeed, only the oldest of the essays, "The History of the early Christian church in Africa" breathes a quietness of research untouched by the questions of the day. Time after time, all of the others show how the author with his scholarship knew himself called into the controversies of his day. Therefore, two long articles are concerned with the scholarly refutation of Spengler's interpretation of history. Thus in the articles on Augustine and Luther, the total personalities are so grasped that he attempts to show both in their significance for the present. Five essays and lectures take definite stands in relation to church problems of the present. In these von Soden, for the most part, is not only speaking as a university professor, but in the name and at the desire of ecclesiastical authorities. He devotes himself to scholarly statements, for example, on the theological declaration of Barmen and the problem of the Church of Christ in relation to secular authority. Therefore, it is pertinent and logical that this collection ends with the moving letter von Soden wrote, as leader of the Confessing Church of Kurhessen-Waldeck, to the pastors of his Church.

DIE CHRISTOSOPHIE RUDOLF STEINERS. [The Christosophy of Rudolf Steiner]. By Klaus v. Stieglitz. Witten/Ruhr: Luther-Verlag, 1955. 350 pp. 12.80 DM.

Here the author presents a study of the famous founder of so-called "Anthroposophy". His evaluation of the theme is based upon a thorough study of original sources, especially letters, addresses and the writings of Steiner, which have been almost unknown to public up to now. Steiner's "Christosophy" is developed by the author in Steiner's personality, his life

(Biography, Part I), and his basic philosophical concepts (Part II). Steiner's concept of "Christosophy" has grown out of the personal experiences of his life and out of his controversies with church theology and certain movements within "Theosophy". This concept is based upon biblical and theological motives and thoughts as well as upon non-biblical and non-theological ones. Having evaluated his thoughts, Steiner finds a "new way" which he holds opposed to the "old way" of the Roman Catholic church. In the end, however, the name of Jesus Christ "is used as a principle to solve philosophical questions".

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHURCH FATHERS, Vol. 1. Faith, Trinity, Incarnation. By Harry A. Wolfson. London: Oxford Books, 1956. 688 pp. 80 s.

This sequel to the author's *Philo* will be of interest to all students of the Hellenistic thought-world, in which Christianity had its historical origin, and especially to Patristic scholars. It is an attempt to present the philosophy underlying the teaching of the Fathers, as shown in the problems with which they were concerned. Starting with St. Paul's distinction between 'the wisdom of God' and 'the wisdom of this world', it deals with the attitude of the Christian writers to the truths of Scripture and to philosophy respectively, and then passes to the two great topics of the thought of both Christians and heretics: the Trinity and the Incarnation.

## Systematics

FÖR EDER UTGIVEN. EN BOK OM NATTVARDENS OFFERMOTIV. [Given for You. A Book on the Motive of Sacrifice in the Holy Supper.] By Gustaf Aulen. Stockholm: Diakonistrelseförlag, 1956. 240 pp. Sw. Kr. 14.50.

This study is based on the various ecumenical discussions on the Lord's Supper as started at several international conferences. The author deals especially with the contribution of the anglican theologians, but also quotes some roman-catholic statements. For him the most significant problem is the concept of sacrifice. This item is emphasized by anglican theology, while it

is disregarded in the other reformers. Through a short analysis the author shows that the motive of sacrifice is the basis of Martin Luther's reformatory theology. But Luther is very cautious in using the terminology of sacrifice because it had been misused in medieval theology. His emphasizing the real presence, however, is based on a certain concept of the eternal sacrifice of Christ being present in Holy Supper. The author is himself skeptical about certain anglican formulas, in which the sacrifice of Christ is connected with human actions.

**THE CHURCH AND THE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE.** By Edgar Carlson. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press: 1956. 104 pp. \$ 1.75.

This book is a statement of how the Christian faith applies to the social situation and how the law of love calls the church to participate in responsibility for political, economic, and social affairs.

**EXISTENTIALISTS AND GOD.** By Arthur Cochrane. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1956. 176 pp. \$ 3.00.

This book is a treatise on a basic problem for theology today, distinguishing between various concept of Being held by existentialists inside and outside the church, and the Christian doctrine of the Being of God revealed in Jesus Christ.

**ETHICS OF DECISION.** By George Forell. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1956. 158 pp. \$ 2.50.

This is an introduction to Christian ethics which treats life as decision and compares Christianity as way of life with non-Christian alternatives as practised both within and outside the Christian church.

**DIE ORDINATION ZUM AMT DER KIRCHE** [Ordination to the Ministry of the Church]. By Joachim Heubach. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1956. 220 pp. 13.80 DM.

In the first part of this study, the author deals with the treatment of "Ordination" in the history of theology in the 19th and 20th centuries. "Ordination" in recent history is not merely a theological question, but also a question of church law and government.

The second part provides a thorough evaluation of the Lutheran doctrine of ordination to the ministry. The main topics of the second part are e. g.: Ordination and Ministry; The Apostolicity of Ordination; The Place of Ordination; The Significance of Ordination for Church Government and Church Law.

**THE WORLD AND THE CHURCH.** By Howard Hong. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1956. 144 pp. \$ 2.50.

This is a study of secularism and its corroding effect upon the Christian faith. It discusses the responsibility of the church for and in a secularized world.

**KRISTUS OCH HANS KYRKA.** By Anders Nygren. Stockholm: Diakonistyrrelseförslag, 1955. German edition: *Christus und Seine Kirche*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1955. 5.80 DM. English edition: *Christ and His Church*. Philadelphia: Westminster 1956. 128 pp. \$ 3.00.

The author's task here is to show the unity between Christ and His church. Did Jesus himself speak of the Church? Does the Church belong to the Gospel? The author says, yes, and he proves that Christology and Ecclesiology belong together. This unity of Christ and His church is testified to by the Gospel in the concept of the "body of Christ". The Church cannot be without Christ and Christ cannot be without the Church. The single congregation is part of the Church insofar as she participates in the Body of Christ in Word and Sacrament. On this theory it follows that there is only one Church. All ecumenical activity has to accept this as given. From this basis also church fellowship and intercommunion must be discussed.

**CREDO ECCLESIAM — VON DER KIRCHE HEUTE** [I Believe in the Church — about the Church Today]. Edited by the Evangelische Michaelsbruderschaft. Kassel: Johannes Staude-Verlag, 1955. 78 pp. 3.80 DM.

This programmatic statement, addressed by the Evangelical Brotherhood of St. Michael to the church public, deals with the needs, problems and questions of present-day church life. This Brotherhood is a



movement for theological and liturgical renewal in the evangelical church (founded in 1931). *Credo Ecclesiam* states that the theological revival after World War I and the German church's struggle had not had the expected results. In the first part, this publication unfolds the confession of the 3. Article of the Apostles' Creed "I believe in one holy catholic and apostolic church". It is based on the attempt to overcome ancient controversies and concept without departing from Christian truth; it also is based on a thorough exegetical and systematic study. The unfolding of the Confession also includes the necessary anathemas against Roman Catholicism and modern heresies, as well as the necessary consequences for the form, the order and the worship service of the church. One also finds in this volume an exegetical study on "Succession in the New Testament" by Professor Heinz-Dietrich Wendland (Münster) and a paper on the "Apostolic Succession and the Evangelical Church" by Dr. Hans Dombois.

GEDENKSCHRIFT FÜR WERNER ELERT. BEITRÄGE ZUR HISTORISCHEN UND SYSTEMATISCHEN THEOLOGIE [In Memoriam of the late Werner Elert, Contributions from the Field of Historical and Systematic Theology]. Edited by Friedrich Hübner together with Wilhelm Maurer and Ernst Kinder. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1955. 424 pp. 18.50 DM.

Professor Werner Elert has been known for almost thirty years as one of the most famous scholars of the Lutheran church and its theology. His reputation derived from his *Morphologie des Lutherthums*, 1931, 2nd ed., 1952, and *Die Christliche Wahrheit*, the 3rd ed. of which has just been published. One year after his death, this book was published in his memory. It is impossible to list here all the articles and studies which it contains. Scholars from both America and Europe who have been connected with Professor Elert have contributed to this publication, thus providing an excellent survey on present-day research in the field of church

history and dogmatics. Each of these twenty-seven articles is a new contribution to the research field concerned. The reader will also find a paper on Elert's life and work given by his faculty colleague, Professor Althaus, at the memorial celebration of Erlangen University, where Elert had taught for more than thirty years.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR: HIS RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT. By Charles Kegley and Robert Bretall. Vols. 1 and 2. New York: Macmillan, 1955. \$ 6.50 each.

The volumes contain an intellectual autobiography of Niebuhr. Twenty scholars, among them Paul Tillich, Emil Brunner, and John C. Bennet, criticize and interpret his work. Niebuhr again replies to his critics, giving one an over-all view of his entire theological system.

NORDISK TEOLOGI [Northern Theology]. Presented to Ragnar Bring, July, 1955. Lund: G. W. K. Gleerups, 1955.

Nineteen outstanding Scandinavian theologians have contributed to this book which has been presented to the Professor of Systematics at Lund University on his 60th birthday. Among others, one finds a paper by M. H. See on "Kierkegaard's Doctrine of Paradox" and by Professor Regin Prenter on "The Enslaved and Free Will in Otto Möller's Doctrine of Redemption". K. E. Skydsgaard deals with Prenter's "Dogmatic Presuppositions". There is a study on "Gottfried Billing's Understanding of Society" by H. Pleijel and one on "Einar Billing's Theological Method" by Gustav Wingren. In the last contribution Anders Nygren gives a statement on Ragnar Bring's theological endeavors. He wants to do justice to Bring's significance by interpreting the terms "Luther-Renaissance", "Biblical Theology", "philosophical analysis". This book, as its title says, is "Northern Theology", both in past and present times and as far as the authors and their contributions are concerned.

## Practical Theology

AGENDE FÜR EVANGELISCH-LUTHERISCHE KIRCHEN UND GEMEINDEN, Bd. 1: *Der Hauptgottesdienst mit Predigt und heiligem Abendmahl und die sonstigen Predigt- und Abendmahls-gottesdienste.* [Service Book for Evangelical Lutheran Churches and Congregations, Vol. 1: Service with Sermon and Holy Communion and other Preaching Services and Communion Services.] Small edition for pastors; edition for the congregation. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1956.

As a result of long liturgical research work, the Committee on Liturgics of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany presents the first volume of the new Lutheran service book in two editions, one for pastors and one for the congregation. Many sub-committees have cooperated in this endeavor and have produced a service book which draws upon the conclusions of long theological and liturgical research. The service book offers rich and carefully selected material. "Part A" is the order of service with sermon and Holy Communion (with Ordinary and Propers). Great emphasis is put on this section. It is intended that the evangelical mass will become the center of the liturgical life of the church. "Part B" contains other preaching and communion services. "Part C" presents many kinds of prayers, especially prayers for the pastors before, during and after the service. "Part D" contains liturgical melodies. There are also instructions for the use of this service book, the calendar, and indices. One also finds short introductions to the propers (Wilhelm Stählin) and to the order of service, the calendar and the Prayers (Christhard Mahrenholz).

JAHRBUCH FÜR LITURGIK UND HYMNOLOGIE [Yearbook for Liturgics and Hymnology.] Edited by Konrad Ameln, Christhard Mahrenholz and K. F. Müller. Kassel: Stauda-Verlag, 1956. 246 pp. 24.00 DM.

This yearbook is being published for the first time. It contains a review and survey of the results of liturgical and hymnological research in the evangelical church compiled by the help of 70 collaborators. Each year from now on, there will be a report on the

results of research and different topics in liturgics and hymnology. The first edition contains three main contributions: "The Nürnberg German Mass, 1524", by Bernhard Klaus; "The Hymnal of Daniel Rumpff, 1587", by Konrad Ameln and Ernst Sommer; "The two most important German-Swiss Hymnals", by Markus Jenny. In addition, there are many minor contributions and a thorough bibliography from both Europe and America.

CLINICAL TRAINING FOR PASTORAL CARE. By David Belgum. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1956. 144 pp. \$ 3.00.

This is a guidebook for members of the clergy engaged in the field of pastoral care in hospitals and with the sick.

RECHT UND INSTITUTION [Law and Institution]. A report on the continuation of the discussions started in Göttingen, 1949, on the Christian foundation of law. Edited by Hans Dombois. Witten/Ruhr: Luther-Verlag, 1955. 72 pp.

The Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany (Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland) meeting in Bethel/Westphalia, 1949, recommended setting up a working committee to deal with questions concerning the Christian and theological foundations of law. This committee met once in Göttingen in May, 1949. Through the initiative of the "Evangelische Forschungsakademie Christophorusstift" the discussions on this subject were taken up again in January 1955. Dr. Hans Dombois, the head of the "Forschungsakademie" presents in this publication the reports and statements presented at this second meeting. In addition to a paper on the "Concept of Law and Justice in present-day German Jurisprudence" by Ulrich Scheuner, the main subject with which the meeting dealt was the concept of "institution" (Hans Dombois, "The Problem of Institution and Marriage") within human social life and its implications for theology and jurisprudence. The theses set up at this meeting are also published for the first time in this volume. In these theses it is stated among other things that "Institutions are given by God. The basis for recognizing their character as God's creation is the revelation of God in the Old and New Testaments."



TWENTIETH CENTURY ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE. An Extension of the New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Edited by Lefferts A. Loetscher, et al. 2 vols. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1955. 1,205 pp. \$ 15.00.

This is not an independent encyclopedia but two supplementary volumes to the thirteen volume English language reference work. It brings the results of scholarly research and opinion since the publication of the Encyclopedia itself. It includes recent historical and biographical material, as well as newer areas of practical theology. Though the contributors are primarily American, results of European scholars are included. The complete set (15 vols.) can be obtained from the publisher for \$ 78.50.

REPORT OF THE JOINT UNION COMMITTEE TO THE CONVENTIONS OF THE NEGOTIATING BODIES 1956 (*American Lutheran Church; The Evangelical Lutheran Church; Lutheran Free Church; United Evangelical Lutheran Church*). Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1956. 213 pp. \$ 1.25.

This printed report contains the plans to date for the merger of four Lutheran church bodies in the United States and Canada. It includes a short introduction, the proposed constitution and by-laws, the articles of union, the joint statement on faith and practice entitled "The United Testimony," the proposed enabling resolutions, and in an addendum: the "Union Timetable," proposed budget and tables giving a financial picture of the merged church and merging churches.

## Translations

ETHICS. By Dietrich Bonhoeffer. *The Library of Philosophy and Theology*. New York: Macmillan, 1955. 325 pp. \$ 4.00.

ESSAYS. By Rudolf Bultmann, *The Library of Philosophy and Theology*. New York: Macmillan, 1955. 325 pp. \$ 4.75.

THE EARLY CHURCH. By O. Cullmann. London: SCM Press Ltd. 1956. 232 pp.

STUDIES IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. By M. Dibelius. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1956. 228 pp.

THEOLOGY OF REINHOLD NIEBUHR. By Hans Hofmann. New York: Scribners, 1956. 288 pp. \$ 3.95.

BY FAITH ALONE. By W. J. Kooiman. New York: Philosophical, 1955. 220 pp. \$ 6.00.

THE EARLY CHURCH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Adolf Schlatter. London: S. P. C. K., 1956.

CHRIST AND CAESARS. By Ethelbert Stauffer. Philadelphia: Westminster. 1955. 296 pp. \$ 4.50.

NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY. By Ethelbert Stauffer. New York: Macmillan, 1955. 350 pp. \$ 4.25.

LUTHER. By Rudolf Thiel. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955. 492 pp. \$ 5.00.

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